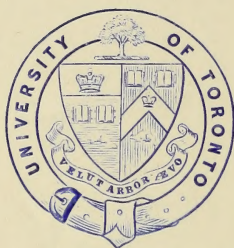


# HISTORY OF THE NORTH-WEST








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# HISTORY

OF

# THE NORTH-WEST.

BY  
ALEXANDER BEGG,  
AUTHOR OF "DOT IT DOWN," "THE CREATION OF MANITOBA," "THE GREAT  
CANADIAN NORTH-WEST," ETC., ETC., ETC.

VOLUME II.

Toronto:  
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## PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

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WHILE this, the second volume of my book, was in press, the Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, written by Mr. Joseph Pope, were published. When it became known, some time ago, that Mr. Pope was engaged upon a biography of the great Canadian statesman, the public looked forward with much interest to its publication, in the expectation of seeing new light shed upon many points connected with the political history of Canada and Confederation, in which Sir John A. Macdonald played so prominent and important a part. In this respect the public certainly have not been disappointed, and Mr. Pope's work may well be considered as one of the most valuable contributions to Canadian history yet issued.

In regard to the acquisition of the North-West, however, Mr. Pope makes certain statements, and conveys certain impressions which are not in line with the views expressed by me in the first volume of this history, and I feel, therefore, that I cannot allow them to go unchallenged. It seems to me, if I may be allowed to say so, that, in writing that part of the memoirs, Mr. Pope skimmed over one of the most important periods of Sir John A. Macdonald's career, and in a way apt to leave a wrong impression upon the mind of the reader as to the true position of affairs at that time.

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Passing over the lengthy and troublesome negotiations which took place between Canada and the Imperial Government for the acquisition of the North-West by the former, we find that Sir John A. Macdonald, in a letter to Sir George E. Cartier, referring to the decision of the law officers of the Crown in favor of the rights and powers of the Hudson's Bay Company, admits the possibility of grave difficulties in the way of accomplishing the transfer of the country.

The disappointment of Sir John at this check, and at the prospect ahead of him, is plainly visible, but, as Mr. Pope shows, this feeling is not shared by some of his colleagues. Here the great statesman stands head and shoulders over others of his cabinet in his unswerving resolution to overcome the difficulties presented, in order—as his biographer puts it—“to fix deep the foundations of England's dominion upon this continent, to cultivate a spirit of loyalty to the Crown, and a feeling of oneness with the motherland.”

The difficulties were overcome, and arrangements were completed with the Imperial authorities and the Hudson's Bay Company, and ratified by the Canadian Parliament in June, 1869. So far, the people living in the North-West were not consulted in the negotiations, although the Imperial Government made it a point that their rights were to be protected. That they were not consulted up to this time is not surprising, because it might only have added fresh difficulties in the way of effecting arrangements, and no question of handing the country over to a foreign country was involved. But when the preliminary negotiations were concluded, should it not have been the first duty of the Canadian Government to enquire into the wants and wishes of the people of the North-West, in relation to the change of government proposed for



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them? Had such a step been taken, it would have saved Canada much trouble and thousands of dollars. There were men in the North-West, such as the Archbishop of Rupert's Land, Archbishop Taché, and many others outside of the Hudson's Bay Company, who could have been consulted, and who would have given the Canadian authorities much information, and enabled them to avoid the pitfalls into which they stumbled.

Mr. Pope endeavors to throw the onus of this state of affairs upon the Hudson's Bay Company, and accuses them of not taking steps to prepare the settlers for the change of government. The settlers knew very well that a change was likely to take place, but is it reasonable to suppose that the Hudson's Bay Company would have been justified in declaring what the policy of the Canadian Government was to be when they, as well as everybody else in the North-West, previous to the closing of the negotiations, were utterly in the dark regarding it. It is more than probable that the Canadian Government would have looked upon it as meddling interference on the part of the Company, had they attempted to do anything of the kind. In point of fact, they were powerless in the matter, and it is doubtful whether the policy of Canada towards the people of the North-West was really understood outside the Ottawa cabinet, if indeed it was known there, previous to the passing of the temporary Act of Government in 1869.

Instead of consulting the people of the North-West, and informing themselves as to the true state of feeling in the country, as they could easily have done, the members of the cabinet at Ottawa sat down, the moment the transfer negotiations were concluded, and prepared a temporary form of govern-

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ment, with all the necessary machinery for carrying it out. They undertook public works in the country before their time, and altogether acted in a way to cause much misapprehension in the minds of the settlers as to their intentions, and in this respect, had they studied a few leaves out of the history of the Hudson's Bay Company's difficulties in governing, they might have learned a useful lesson. But no, they shut their eyes and groped their way in darkness, only to be rudely awakened to their mistake. The first real intimation of the error they had committed was when the Hon. Joseph Howe visited the country. He then foresaw the difficulties ahead, but it was too late. Hon. Wm. McDougall was on his way to the North-West with the policy of the Government in his pocket.

There can be no doubt that Hon. Wm. McDougall was the victim of the mistakes committed by the Ottawa Cabinet, to which, he being a member, was, of course, a party. Indeed, looking on events as now understood, it can hardly be denied that he, as a member of the Government, and one who took a particular interest in affairs connected with the North-West, was in a large measure responsible for much of the trouble that arose. But had he at once returned to Canada on being refused admittance into the Red River Settlement, it is more than probable that many of the deplorable events which afterwards occurred would have been avoided. In remaining at Pembina, however, he was acting, it appears, in accordance with the desire of Sir John A. Macdonald, who wrote to him:—"I hope no consideration will induce you to leave your post—that is to return to Canada just now." The mistake, therefore, of remaining at the boundary was not wholly attributable to Mr. McDougall. The position of that gentle-



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man while at Pembina, so far away from Ottawa, was a most trying one, and had he but exercised more patience and kept himself aloof from and disregarded the ill-advised counsel of so-called friends in the settlement, he might have emerged from the situation with some honor and profit to himself.

If, then, the Canadian Government, as Mr. Pope would have us believe, endeavored to cast the blame of the discontent among the people of the North-West, upon the Hudson's Bay Company, it was only an attempt to shift a responsibility from their shoulders which properly belonged to them. The Act for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories, was passed immediately after the ratification of the negotiations by Parliament, six months before the transfer of the country was to take place. Who were the proper parties to have consulted before framing that Act? The Hudson's Bay Company, or the people who were to be most affected by it? Clearly the latter. As clearly, the Hudson's Bay Company, being one of the parties to the bargain of sale, could not be expected to assume the responsibility of saying how the property was to be managed after it passed from their hands. Besides, it was only after the passing of the temporary act in 1869, that the people realized the fact that they were merely passing from one paternal form of government to another. The seeds of discontent were then sown by Canada, without enquiry whether the new form of government would be acceptable to the people chiefly concerned.

The next point about which Mr. Pope, in my opinion, conveys an erroneous impression, is the mission of the delegates sent to the North-West. It appears from a letter written by Sir John A. Macdonald to Sir John Rose, that he did not expect Sir Donald A. Smith, and Messrs. Thibault and Salaberry

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to be successful. In fact, he expresses a doubt whether they would be allowed access to the Territory. Mr. Pope then goes on to make the broad assertion that the mission of the delegates was a failure, and on this account, as a *dernier ressort*, Bishop Taché was summoned from Rome. Nothing could be farther from the facts of the case. Bishop Taché was summoned from Rome, possibly because Sir John A. Macdonald entertained doubts about the success of the delegates he had already sent. But as a matter of fact, when Bishop Taché arrived at Fort Garry, the Bill of Rights had been framed, the delegates to Ottawa selected, a promise of the release of the prisoners obtained, and everything completed, tending to a friendly settlement of the troubles.

In order to make this matter clear, I will recapitulate concisely what took place. Messrs. Thibault and de Salaberry preceded Sir Donald A. Smith, and although they were allowed to enter the territory, their papers were confiscated by Riel, and their usefulness as delegates practically destroyed. Sir Donald A. Smith took the precaution to preserve his papers, and by a good deal of skill succeeded in presenting them to a mass meeting of settlers from all parts of the country. Through his efforts, a convention of English and French members met and framed a Bill of Rights to be presented to the Canadian Government. Three delegates were appointed to go to Ottawa. Riel agreed to release all prisoners, and a provisional Government was formed of English and French pending the result of the negotiations with Canada. The result of these negotiations was the framing of the Manitoba Act, and, practically, the end of the Rebellion. All this was accomplished before Bishop Taché appeared upon the scene.

No one has a deeper respect for the memory of Archbishop



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Taché than I have—no one remembers the kindness of his heart better than I do. I have travelled with him over the plains, and had much pleasant intercourse with him at St. Boniface. From a long acquaintance, I know the influence for good which he exercised over his people. But he was not in the country at the time I refer to, and before his arrival Sir Donald A. Smith had accomplished everything necessary for opening peaceful negotiations between the people of the North-West and Canada.

Nor did the shooting of Thomas Scott, a foul murder, in which the English and the majority of the French had no part, prevent the carrying out of these negotiations. The responsibility for that deed of blood rested entirely with Riel and a few of his immediate followers. So far as the country as a whole was concerned it had no effect in altering the decision in favor of negotiating with Canada which had been agreed upon.

One more point, I think, should be made clear. Mr. Pope quotes a letter from Sir John A. Macdonald, in which he conveys the impression that the delegates who went to Ottawa were sent there by Riel. They were sent by the combined English and French settlers, and while possibly Father Richot and Alfred Scott may have been in sympathy with Riel's views, any one knowing the character of Judge Black, the third delegate, will bear me out that he at least was not influenced by them. I think a note of explanation from Mr. Pope was necessary on this point, as I do not believe that Sir John A. Macdonald wished to convey the impression—which his letter, given without comment, certainly does—that he treated with the emissaries of a man who, through his unlawful acts had, by that time, forfeited the esteem of even a large portion

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of his own people. The Bill of Rights, however, was not framed by Riel, nor were the delegates sent by him, but by the whole people of the settlement. The only construction to be put on Sir John's letter, and which ought to have been explained, is that he spoke of Riel in his capacity as President of the Provisional Government, and not individually.

It is not pleasant reading for those who know what the North-West was in 1869-'70 to learn now that the Government of Canada, until Lord Granville held up the hand of warning, was bent upon using the troops to gain forcible possession of the country, if their terms were not agreed to. I can hardly credit this, and the only conclusion I can arrive at is that Sir John A. Macdonald had in view, at the time, the resistance of any attempt by American filibusters in the North-West, rather than the subjugation of the people. Had troops been sent in, however, with hostile intent, there is no saying what the consequences would have been. It took 5,000 volunteers to suppress the Rebellion of 1884-'85, but the state of the country in 1869-'70 was far different, and more difficult of access, and the cost in life, money and misery, which a suppression by force of the first Rebellion would have entailed, no one can estimate, especially if the Indians had taken part in it.

The services rendered by Sir Donald A. Smith, therefore, to the Dominion, in bringing about a peaceful solution of the difficulty in 1869-'70, will be more and more appreciated as time wears on.

ALEXANDER BEGG.



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# HISTORY OF THE NORTH-WEST.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE EXPEDITION OF 1870 AND THE AMNESTY QUESTION.

THE murder of Thomas Scott created intense excitement throughout Canada, especially in Ontario, and at several meetings held in Toronto and other cities, speeches were made by men who had been imprisoned by Riel. This helped to fan the flame of popular feeling on the subject, and made it all the more difficult for the Canadian Government to pass the Manitoba Act, in accordance with the Bill of Rights presented by the delegates from the North-West. Rev. Mr. Richot and Alfred H. Scott, the delegates who were regarded as representing the French Half-Breeds, were arrested at Ottawa shortly after their arrival in that city, but as the warrant had been issued by a Toronto Police Magistrate, it was decided by Judge Galt that he had no jurisdiction, and the prisoners were released. They were, however, immediately re-arrested on a warrant issued by Police Magistrate O'Gara, of Ottawa, on an affidavit sworn to by Mr. Hugh Scott, a brother of the murdered man, and, after a good deal of evidence was taken, the charge against the prisoners was withdrawn, there being no case against them, and they were finally set at liberty.

This occurred about the middle of April, and from that time the delegates were in constant communication with the Government until the 2nd May, 1870, when Sir John A. Macdonald introduced the Manitoba Act in the Dominion House of Commons. The Bill, as originally introduced, provided for a small Province, to be called Manitoba, and if the boundaries then proposed had been adopted, a large English settlement in the neighborhood of Portage la Prairie would have been left out. This was done, no doubt, to satisfy the French element in Parliament, but the temper of the majority in the House was such that this and several other features in the original bill had to be amended.

In the debate which took place on the Bill, Hon. Wm. McDougall was very bitter in his denunciation of the action of the Government in not paying over the money to the Hudson's Bay Company at the time agreed upon. Hon. Alexander Mackenzie also attacked the policy of the Government, and criticised their acts, which he declared had necessitated the sending of troops into the country at a heavy expense to the ratepayers of Canada. Hon. Joseph Howe, however, ably defended the Government, and during his speech scored the Hon. Wm. McDougall unmercifully for overstepping his authority while at Pembina, and committing acts of a most unwarrantable nature in the name of, but without the sanction of, the Queen. The debate altogether was probably one of the warmest that ever took place in the Canadian House of Commons, and the popular excitement at the time in nearly every part of the Dominion made the passing of the Act a difficult and delicate undertaking.

On the 4th May, Sir John Macdonald announced a change in the boundaries of the proposed province, and an increase



in the quantity of land reserved for the Half-Breeds. The population was consequently increased, and several alterations had to be made in the money clauses, and then the second reading of the Bill was set for the 6th May. But on that day Sir John Macdonald took suddenly ill, a postponement of the measure being thereby necessitated, and on the 7th, Sir George E. Cartier was obliged to take charge of it.

The land grant to the French Half-Breeds was strongly contested, and, after the opposition to it had been defeated, Hon. Alexander Mackenzie finally offered the following amendment:—"That whereas it is expedient to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands for the families of Half-Breed residents, it is hereby enacted that the children of such Half-Breeds residing in the Province shall be entitled to receive a grant of not more than 200 acres each on attaining the age of eighteen years, in such mode and on such conditions as the Governor-in-Council may from time to time designate." But Sir George Cartier pointed out that this amendment, if passed, would require even a larger grant than the one proposed, and so it was defeated, and on the motion for the third reading, Mr. Mackenzie stated that he did not intend to offer any further opposition. The Government had resisted and defeated every amendment to the Bill except the alterations forced upon them at the outset, to which we have already alluded, and with that exception the whole responsibility of the Act rested with them.

The Bill, as passed and accepted by the people of Manitoba, we gave in full in the Appendix to the preceding volume, and on its becoming law the birth of representative institutions in the North-West began. Hon. Wm. McDougall, with strange perversity, notwithstanding his unhappy experience with the

people of the country, actually endeavored, during the passing of the Manitoba Act, to introduce a Bill similar in some respects to the one which was the means of wrecking his hopes, and which was intended to provide for a Territorial instead of a Provincial Government, but it was defeated by a vote of 11 for and 120 against it.

Previous to and during the passing of the Manitoba Act, the Canadian Government had been quietly proceeding with arrangements for sending in a military force to restore peace and order in the North-West, in the event of other means failing. On the Dominion Government stating to the Home authorities that the interposition of the military might be necessary, Earl Granville, on the 5th March, telegraphed the following despatch to Sir John Young, the Governor-General of Canada:—"Her Majesty's Government will give proposed military assistance, provided reasonable terms are granted Red River settlers, and provided your Government enable Her Majesty's Government to proclaim the transfer of the Territory simultaneously with the movement of the force."

This was accepted, and Lieutenant-General Sir James Lindsay was placed in command of the forces, Sir Clinton Murdoch being commissioned to consult with Sir John Young in regard to the carrying out of the details. In the instructions to Sir Clinton, Earl Granville said, "Troops should not be employed in forcing the Sovereignty of Canada on the population, should they refuse to admit it," and this was strictly adhered to, as the negotiations between the people of the North-West and the Dominion were almost concluded before final consent to the use of Imperial troops was given. General Lindsay was instructed to consult with Sir John Young with regard to the selection of the force itself, and of the

officer to command it, as it was essential that the latter should be possessed of firmness, prudence, and judgment in conducting the expedition, owing to the peculiar features surrounding it. At first it was proposed to send about 250 regulars and 700 volunteers, but the number of the former was afterwards increased to nearly 400, in order to allow of small garrisons being left at Thunder Bay and Fort Francis to guard the supplies, the Dominion Government agreeing to pay the expense of all over 250.

On the 23rd April, Earl Granville sent the following despatch to Sir John Young:—

“On the following conditions troops may advance:—

“1. Rose to be authorized to pay £300,000 at once, and Her Majesty’s Government to be at liberty to make transfer before the end of June.

“2. Her Majesty’s Government to pay expenses of British troops only, not exceeding 250, and Canadian Government the rest, sending at least 500 trained men.

“3. Canadian Government to accept decision of Her Majesty’s Government on disputed points of the Settler’s Bill of Rights.

“4. Military arrangements to be to the satisfaction of General Lindsay.”

On the 4th May, instructions were sent to Sir John Rose, in London, to pay over the £300,000 to the Hudson’s Bay Company, and this was done on the 11th, just one day before the Manitoba Act received the assent of the Governor-General. On the 6th, however, orders were sent to Sir John Young by Earl Granville that the troops might proceed. Early in April, Colonel Wolseley, Deputy Quartermaster-General in British North America (now Lord Wolseley), had been appointed to



the command of the expedition, and on the 4th May he left Montreal for Collingwood, to inspect the preparations for the embarkation of the force at that point.

Anticipating the sending of troops into the North-West, the Canadian Government had given instructions to make arrangements for their transport from Lake Superior to the Red River, and an agent was also sent to maintain friendly relations with the Indians along the route. Over a hundred boats, suitable for the work, were ordered to be built in Ontario and Quebec, and a large number of experienced voyageurs were engaged to man them. Work on the roads from Fort William to Lake Shebandowan, and from the Lake of the Woods to the Red River, was also pushed forward as rapidly as possible, and everything done to facilitate the passage of the troops. Serious doubts were entertained by many as to the practicability of the route by Lake Superior, which arose in some measure from the fact that the Imperial Government, when sending troops into the North-West on previous occasions, had sent them by way of Hudson's Bay; but Col. Crofton, who commanded the expedition of 1846, when examined before the committee of 1857, unhesitatingly pronounced in favor of Lake Superior, and later, Mr. S. J. Dawson declared his confidence in the practicability of that route, and it was accordingly chosen. Provisions, waggons, horses, oxen, provender, etc., were provided in good time, and on the 3rd May the steamer *Algoma* left Collingwood for Fort William, loaded with supplies of all kinds, and carrying a large number of voyageurs and workmen. This vessel was followed in a few days by the *Chicora*, with more stores and men, but when she arrived at the Sault, the American authorities refused permission to pass through the canal. The stores had

therefore to be unloaded and portaged across, and the *Algonma*, which had been allowed to pass through into Lake Superior, carried them to Fort William. The *Chicora* then returned to Collingwood, and brought the first detachment of troops to the Sault, where the passage of the canal was again refused, and, on this, representations were made to the American authorities at Washington by Sir John Young, through Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister, that the expedition being one of peace, the stores should not be stopped. The embargo was then removed, after much delay had been experienced, and the supplies for the troops were rapidly pushed forward to make up for lost time, but the men composing the force were obliged to march across the portage, and re-embark on the Lake Superior side.

On the 21st May, Colonel Wolseley and staff, with a portion of the 60th Rifles, left Collingwood, and on the 25th arrived at the camp near Fort William, which he named Prince Arthur's Landing, in honor of the Duke of Connaught. From this time till the latter part of June, troops were constantly arriving, and in the meantime attempts were made to penetrate inland, and forward parties of the men. The season being rainy, however, the road became very bad, and so much difficulty was experienced that Colonel Wolseley determined to send boats by the Kaministiquia River, against the advice of Mr. S. J. Dawson. This caused some friction between the commander of the military and the Dominion officials, which made matters somewhat unpleasant, and, added to this, the difficulties in the way of transport proved so great that the progress of the expedition was slow. It even began to be feared by some that it would have to be abandoned altogether, when General Lindsay visited Thunder Bay, and in-

fused new life into the undertaking. The boats, which had been greatly damaged on the passage up the Kaministiquia, were repaired, and on the 16th July the first brigade left McNeill's Landing on Shebandowan Lake, and on the 4th August the advanced detachment arrived at Fort Francis, on Rainy River. The whole force at this time consisted of 1,431 men, of whom 92 were officers, 1,051 non-commissioned officers and men, 274 voyageurs, and 14 guides, and these, during the progress of the expedition, were sometimes spread out in parties a distance of over 150 miles. On the 21st August the 60th Rifles, the Artillery, and Engineers had all arrived at Fort Alexander, where the expedition was joined by Mr. Donald A. Smith, who accompanied it to Fort Garry, and, the Canadian volunteers being behind, a start was made on that day down the river to Lake Winnipeg, and on the 22nd the mouth of the Red River was reached. At this time there was some uncertainty whether Riel would offer resistance to the troops, and Col. Wolseley had to be prepared for any emergency. On leaving the Stone Fort, therefore, a company was sent by land in advance of the troops, who remained in the boats, with orders to stop any persons going in the direction of Fort Garry, so that intelligence of the arrival of the troops might be prevented from reaching Riel's ears. About 8 o'clock on the morning of the 23rd August, 1870, Col. Wolseley, with the 60th Rifles, Artillery, and Engineers, arrived at Point Douglas, and there the men disembarked, and, forming in companies, marched upon Fort Garry, a line of skirmishers being thrown out in advance.

On nearing the fort, some of the mounted men were sent ahead to reconnoitre, and on these reporting the place to be empty, and the gates wide open, Col. Wolseley marched in



with his troops, the Union Jack was hoisted, a royal salute fired, and three cheers given for the Queen, in which a number of the residents of the settlement who were present joined. Thus the "errand of peace" was accomplished, and the gallant handful of men, after an arduous and dangerous journey of 600 miles, had the satisfaction of knowing that, without firing a shot or losing a life, they had finished the task entrusted to them, and peace was once more restored in the country.

Riel and a few of his immediate followers had fled from the fort only about a quarter of an hour before the arrival of the troops, and not a soul was left to represent the Provisional Government. The position of Col. Wolseley was a most difficult one at this time. The purchase money had been paid over to the Hudson's Bay Company; the territory had been duly transferred to Canada, and Hon. Adams G. Archibald had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, but had not arrived. As a military commander, he had no civil authority, and to have proclaimed martial law might have led to disastrous effects. He therefore held that the Hudson's Bay Company was the only civil authority until Governor Archibald arrived, and Mr. Donald A. Smith was therefore called upon to administer affairs, by which course, and by exacting the strictest discipline among the troops, much trouble was avoided.

On the 27th August, the Ontario Volunteers began to arrive, followed soon after by those of the Quebec Battalion, and on the 3rd September the last of the 60th Rifles, Artillery, and Engineers left on their return home.

On the 2nd September, Lieut.-Governor Archibald arrived, and a royal salute was fired in his honor, and on the 6th he held a levee at Fort Garry, in the house which had been occupied by Governor Mactavish, and which was afterwards

known as Government House. Colonel Wolseley now took his departure, and the Ontario Rifles moved into quarters at Fort Garry, the Quebec Battalion being stationed at the Stone Fort, the command of the whole volunteer force devolving on Lieut.-Colonel Jarvis, of the Ontarios.

We now will refer to a subject which gave rise to much controversy, and at one time made it appear doubtful whether Riel would submit without attempting resistance to the entrance of the troops. This was the question of amnesty.

Early in June, Bishop Taché made the promise, in the name of the Canadian Government, that *all* who participated in the rebellion would receive a full pardon, and in explanation of the course taken by him, His Lordship addressed the following letter to Hon. Joseph Howe :—

ST. BONIFACE,  
Red River Settlement,  
June 9th, 1870.

Hon. Joseph Howe,  
Secretary of State for the Provinces,  
Ottawa, Canada.

HONORABLE SIR—I hasten to communicate to you, for the information of His Excellency in Council a very important promise I have just made in the name of the Canadian Government. I feel all the responsibility I have incurred in taking such a step, while, on the other hand, I am confident that His Excellency, the Governor, and his Privy Council, will not judge with too much severity an act accomplished in order to avoid great misfortunes, and secure the welfare of the country.

In my last despatch, dated on 28th May, I mentioned the satisfaction by the Liberal Bill erecting the Province of Manitoba. I also stated the uneasiness occasioned by the ignorance whether or not a general and complete amnesty had been granted. The last two mails having brought no information on this subject, that feeling of uneasiness has increased to such a degree that it gives apprehension about the maintenance of peace in the country.

Some speak of raising a large force to meet and molest the coming troops at some difficult point on their way hither ; and other plans, perhaps still more dangerous, are also afloat.

Fortunately, the Provisional Government has so far refused such resources, determined to await the arrival of the delegates. Owing to the good disposition of the Provisional Government, and in order to remove the dangers to which we are exposed, and which it would be too tedious to enumerate, I solemnly gave my word of honor and promise, even in the name of the Canadian Government, that the troops are sent on a mission of peace ; that all the irregularities of the past will be totally overlooked or forgiven ; that nobody will be annoyed for having been either leader or member of the Provisional Government, or for having acted under its guidance. In a word, that a complete and entire amnesty (if not already bestowed), will surely be granted before the arrival of the troops, so that every one may remain quiet, and induce others to do the same.

Personally, I feel no hesitation in giving such an assurance, because what I heard myself from the different members of the Cabinet at Ottawa, and what has been said by them in Parliament, has entirely convinced me that this promise of mine had been already issued, and that the delegates now on their way back will convey the most satisfactory information upon that subject.

Should my views unfortunately have deviated from the real tendency of the Government, I humbly beg that my promise will be considered as sacred.

It is the privilege of His Excellency to forgive, and if forgiveness is considered necessary, I earnestly pray for it.

I dare flatter myself with the idea that I have done something in favor of the cause in this country ; and I can assure the Government of my willingness to contribute, as far as in my power, to its prosperity ; but should I have promised in vain, besides the heart-rending feeling I would personally experience, I would be publicly reputed a deceiver, or as having been wilfully deceived by the Canadian Government. An awful reaction would ensue, and who knows what would be the result.

If necessary, I therefore humbly lay my request before His Excellency. It would be very easy to have it largely subscribed to by respectable names, but such an undertaking would have given rise to excitement, and it is my constant endeavor to quell such a feeling rather than nourish it, as it is the greatest danger to be apprehended.

I am confident that, although this is a personal act, it will be considered the wish of the community at large, and probably granted.

It is rumored that Dr. Schultz is coming with a large party of supporters. I am sure that, if such be the case, the Government has taken the necessary steps to prevent the collision which would be the consequence of his return, perhaps, with a desire to revenge the past, and renew the cause of by-gone troubles.

We are perfectly aware of his former conduct, and it is not difficult



to foresee what he may be in future, if not checked by a proper authority.

I easily understand that at a distance my ideas may appear rather pressing, but allow me to say that here on the spot we are in a position to ascertain the dangers and difficulties which may naturally seem chimerical when viewed from abroad.

Experience has already proved that unfortunately our apprehensions are not always entirely groundless nor an effort of our imagination. So far, it is universally considered as a wonder that nothing worse has happened. May the wisdom and liberality of the Government remove what seems to be the last difficulty.

I consider this document of such importance that I am forwarding it by a special messenger to Pembina to secure its prompt delivery into your hands. No doubt you will be kind enough to answer me by the first mail.

I remain, with much respect,

Honorable Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER,

*Bishop of St. Boniface*

His Lordship, at a later period, when he appeared before the Select Committee on the causes of the difficulties in the North-West, refers in the following words to the subject of amnesty and his reasons for promising it :—" Parties arrived from the United States, who had interviews with the leaders of the Provisional Government, and the parties told them that they could not rely upon what had been promised : that the assurances given would not be carried into execution : and that, in some way or another, the politicians of Canada, when they took possession of the country, would refuse to be guided by that promise. They told the leaders that the troops were on their way, and if they allowed them to enter the country they would control the position, bring the leaders before the tribunals, try them and hang them. These representations created a very strong feeling among the leaders, and one or two of them came to my place and reported what they had heard. I

repeated the assurances I had given in the name of His Excellency the Governor-General. They answered that this was of itself all right, but it was not from the Canadians. Now the Canadian troops are on their way they said, and they are under the control of Canada, and as we have given them cause for provocation, if we have not similar assurances from the Canadian Government, they may act in the manner represented to us. My statement before was, that I made the promise in the name of His Excellency the Governor-General, as representative of the Queen, but also added that such were the intentions of the Canadian Cabinet. They had so little faith in the Canadian authorities, that I thought they would prefer to negotiate directly with the representative of the Sovereign. Indeed, I had this authority from the terms of the Proclamation as well as from the letter addressed to me by His Excellency, in which he told me that he was directed by the Imperial Government to issue the Proclamation—and from the conversation I had both with His Excellency and his Ministers, in which he and they told me that he was not acting in the name of the Canadian Government, but as Special Commissioner from the Imperial authorities. I was also furnished with a copy of the telegraphic message from England, upon which the Proclamation was based. The promise made in the name of the Canadian Government on the 9th June, differed in this respect—that it was made in the name of His Excellency, and in my action I was guided by \*Sir John's letter of 16th February, but, with the exception of its being made in

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\*The clause in Sir John A. Macdonald's letter of 16th February, 1870, to which Bishop Taché alluded, as referring to amnesty, read as follows:

"Should the question arise as to the consumption of any stores or goods belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company by the insurgents, you are authorized to inform the leaders that if the Company's Government is restored, not only will there be a general amnesty granted but in case the Company should claim the payment for such stores, that the Canadian Government will stand between the insurgents and all harm."

the name of the Canadian Government, the promise was itself exactly the same as I had made before. I thought it necessary to make it in the name of the Government of Canada if the fears to which I have referred were to be dissipated, and I determined so to make it, because I had received information from Father Richot that the negotiations at Ottawa had been closed satisfactorily. As a portion of the negotiations was to get an entire amnesty, I thought the Canadian Government would not object to the promise being made in their name. The promise which I made on my arrival in the name of the Governor-General was equally extensive with that which I described in this letter of 9th June. All the difference is, that one was made in the name of the Government of Canada, whereas the other was made in the name of the Governor-General, as the representative of the Queen. The answer of the Hon. Mr. Howe, dated 27th May, to my letters of the 3rd and 7th of the same month, in which I also saw plainly the promise of forgiveness, determined me that there was no risk in making the promise in the name of the authorities of Canada. I had also shown that answer to some of the leaders, and I relied upon it as affording me the basis for giving the promise named in my letter; for you will observe that Mr. Howe tendered me, in the name of His Excellency, not only his sympathy but his warm acknowledgment of my services in the cause of peace and moderation."

It is evident from the foregoing statement and the letter of His Lordship to Mr. Howe, that in promising amnesty to Riel and the other leaders, Bishop Taché was actuated by patriotic motives and a desire to prevent any further disturbances in the country, but it is equally certain that there was some doubt as to the authority upon which he acted. No amnesty

was granted, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether the Canadian Government had the power, even if they had wished, to pardon the crime of murder committed before the transfer of the country. The state of public opinion throughout Canada at that time would have made it dangerous for the authorities at Ottawa to have even entertained the idea of amnesty, and, therefore, when Bishop Taché paid a visit to the seat of government to procure, if possible, a confirmation of his promise made to the French Half-Breed leaders, he was obliged to return without gaining his object. Indeed, had an amnesty been granted we doubt very much whether it would have served to protect Riel and the other leaders from the fury of men who were then on the look-out to take revenge upon them for the killing of Scott. On the other hand, had they been arrested they would probably not have received an impartial verdict at the hands of any jury empanelled to try them. The course afterwards adopted, of inducing Riel and Lepine to leave the country for a time, was, therefore, the best in the interest of the whole community, as thereby peace was assured.

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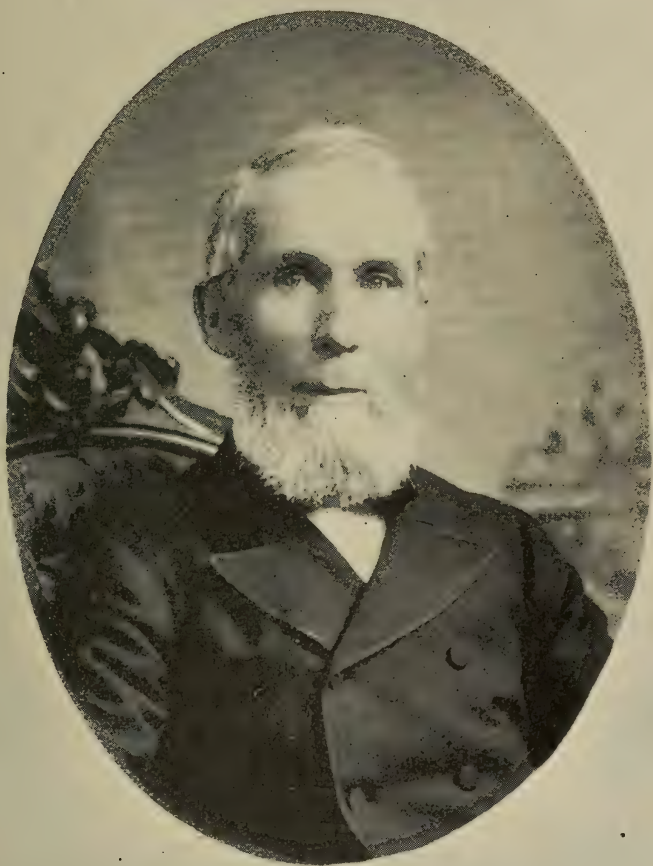


## CHAPTER II.

### INAUGURATION OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

As stated in the previous chapter, Colonel Wolseley, having no civil authority, recognized the Hudson's Bay Company as the government of the country pending the arrival of Lieut.-Governor Archibald, and Mr. Donald A. Smith, who had accompanied the troops into Fort Garry, was called upon to act as Governor *pro tem*. It was a most trying time, as, on the one hand, those who had suffered through Riel and his followers, were clamoring for their arrest, and, on the other, the French, disappointed at the non-appearance of the promised amnesty, were sullen, and ready for an outbreak. Warrants against the leaders of the rebellion were applied for, but Mr. Smith prudently delayed granting them, and in the meantime Riel, Lepine, and O'Donohue fled from the country.

On the 2nd September, Lieut.-Governor Archibald arrived, and his reception was by no means enthusiastic. Indeed, he was looked upon by many of the Canadians as a friend and sympathizer of the French rather than of the English residents, and this feeling was, no doubt, caused by the utterances of the opposition press in the Dominion, in their efforts to discredit the Government for making the appointment. But there was nothing to show, from first to last, during the administration of Governor Archibald, that he was more partial to one side than to the other. His whole effort was one of



M.N.C.

Hon. Alexander Mackenzie.



conciliation, and because he carried this policy throughout, he was often the mark of abuse and avowed dislike by certain parties in the country. From the first, his task was a most difficult one, in attempting to affiliate two distinct classes, neither one of which could be thoroughly conciliated without giving offence to the other.

The day after his arrival, in a letter to Sir George E. Cartier, he thus spoke of the flight of the French leaders:—"It is, perhaps, the best solution of the question that these men have taken to flight. Their presence here, in the meantime, would have been a source of incessant trouble. Warrants for the apprehension of the three men who had fled were applied for and obtained, and have been placed in the hands of constables. Of course, while feeling runs so high as it does at present, an attempt at arrest (if they had remained) would have been met by resistance, and in the end we would, perhaps, have had to call out the military, and we would have had a world of trouble which the absence of these people enables us to escape." In a later letter, he again refers to the subject in the following words:—"I have no doubt that any attempt to arrest would be met with a desperate resistance, which might involve a great many of the population, while, so far as I can learn, there is no disposition to proceed against any person but the three men who were considered in a peculiar manner to be chargeable with the death of Scott. I have explained to the Bishop that, even if there were an amnesty to-morrow, it would not save these parties from possible attempts on their lives, which might be attended with consequences as fatal as the attempt to arrest, and, therefore, under the present circumstances, in the interests of the community, in the interests of the French Half-Breeds, and in the interests of the



parties themselves, it would be better that they should not be found in the territory."

One of the first steps taken by Lieut.-Governor Archibald after assuming his duties, was to cause an enumeration to be taken of the people in the Province, for the purpose of holding elections of representatives to the Local House, and, pending this, His Honor appointed two members of his Executive Council, in conformity with the instructions received by him from the Secretary of State, on the 4th August. The gentlemen selected were, Mr. Alfred Boyd, a merchant, who was popular with the English residents, and Mr. Marc Amable Girard, who had been in the country only a short time, having arrived with Bishop Taché on the same day that the 60th Rifles reached Fort Garry. Mr. Girard, who was a notary by profession, had been Mayor of Varennes, in the Province of Quebec, and from the first became a favorite with the French people of Manitoba.

The next step towards the maintenance of law and order was the formation of a mounted police force, under command of Capt. Villiers, of the Quebec Rifles, and, as it may be of interest, we give the names of these policemen, the first gazetted in the Province of Manitoba:—Wm. Alloway, James Cross, Wm. Montgomery, Timothy Carroll, Edwin Doidge, Elijah Ketts, Geo. Kerr, John Melanson, John Stevenson, Leon Hivet, Geo. Nicol, H. Montgomery, Robert Power, Maxime Villebrun, Wm. Miller, John Paterson, Andrew Persy, Neil McCarthy, Michael Fox.

Previous to the formation of this police force, a good deal of ill-feeling on the part of Canadian residents was shown toward the French, which on several occasions broke out into open hostility, and on one occasion a man named Goulet, who

had been one of Riel's councillors and a member of the court-martial which condemned Scott to be shot, appeared on the streets of Winnipeg. This was a signal for several who had been prisoners to chase the Frenchman out of town, and in a short time a large number took part in the disturbance, among whom were some volunteers from the Ontario Battalion. Goulet ran for the river and jumped in, but being struck by one of the missiles thrown at him, sank and was drowned, and although an investigation into the circumstances of the case was held, nothing was done at the time to punish those connected with it.

On the whole, however, the volunteers behaved well, and soon won their way into the favorable opinion of the residents, although there were a few turbulent characters among the soldiers, who gave their officers a good deal of trouble.

In the meantime, Riel and O'Donohue in exile were not idle, and on the 17th September, a meeting of French Half-Breeds, at which they were present, took place at Rivière Salle, and this caused a company of volunteers to be sent to the boundary line to check any attempt at an uprising.

The work of enumeration, which was regularly commenced on the 27th October, now proceeded rapidly, and in November was fully completed. The returns showed a population of 11,963 in the Province, of whom 1,565 were whites, 558 Indians, 5,757 French Half-Breeds, and 4,083 English Half-Breeds. There were 6,247 Catholics, 5,716 Protestants, and the nationalities of the whites were divided as follows:—747 born in the North-West, 294 in Canada, 69 in the United States, 125 in England, 240 in Scotland, 47 in Ireland, 15 in France, and 28 in other countries. Immediately after the completion of this census, writs were issued for the local elections, which were held on the 30th December, 1870.

The following is a list of the members elected to the first Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba :

Baie St. Paul—J. Dubuc.	St. Boniface West—L. Schmidt.
Headingley—J. Taylor.	St. Charles—H. J. Clarke.
High Bluff—J. Norquay.	St. Clements—Thos. Bunn.
Kildonan—J. Sutherland.	St. Francois Xavier, E—P. Breland.
Lake Manitoba—A. McKay.	St. Francois Xavier, W—J. Royal.
Poplar Point—D. Spence.	St. James—E. Bourke.
Portage la Prairie—F. O. Bird.	St. Norbert, North—J. Lemay.
St. Agathe—Geo. Klyne.	St. Norbert, South—P. Delorme.
St. Andrews, North—A. Boyd.	St. Paul—Dr. Bird.
St. Andrews, S—E. H. G. G. Hay.	St. Peters—T. Howard.
St. Anne—J. H. McTavish.	St. Vital—A. Beauchemin.
St. Boniface, East—M. A. Girard.	Winnipeg—D. A. Smith.

On the 10th January, 1871, the Executive Council was appointed, consisting of the following members :

Hon. Marc Amable Girard—Treasurer.

Hon. Thos. Howard—Provincial Secretary.

Hon. Henry James Clarke, Q.C.—Attorney-General.

Hon. Alfred Boyd—Minister of Public Works & Agriculture.

Hon. James McKay—Without office.

Hon. H. J. Clarke, who became Premier, arrived in the country early in November, 1870, and was at once appointed by Governor Archibald to take charge of the police business until a representative administration could be formed, and on his being returned for the district of St. Charles, he became Attorney-General and head of the Government. Thus the machinery of a representative administration of affairs was set in motion.

With the downfall of the Provisional Government, the newspaper *New Nation* had ceased to exist, and Mr. Robert Cunningham, of the *Toronto Telegraph*, having decided to take up his residence in the country, he and Mr. William Coldwell,

who had at one time been proprietor of the *Nor'-Wester*, formed a co-partnership and commenced the publication of the *Manitoban*, a very creditable sheet, which soon made its way into public favor. About the same time, a small paper called the *News Letter* was started, but owing to the scurrility which found its way into its columns, it did not succeed, and finally gave way to the *Manitoba Liberal*. On the 19th October, Mr. S. Robertson, General Superintendent of the North-Western Telegraph Company, issued a letter calling for information to enable him to procure the necessary poles for the erection of a telegraph line from Pembina to Winnipeg, to connect with the American system, and on the 18th Nov., the first application for a railway charter in Manitoba appeared, as follows :

## NOTICE

Is hereby given that an application will be made, at the first meeting of the Legislature of Manitoba, for an Act to incorporate a joint stock company for the construction of a railway from some point on Lake Manitoba, passing through the Town of Winnipeg, and to connect with the nearest of the Minnesota railways.

DUNCAN SINCLAIR,

Fort Garry, Nov. 18th, 1870.

E. L. BARBER.

Thus, with the prospect of a stable government in the country, a spirit of enterprise and a desire for advancement at once took possession of the minds of the people. In the meantime, the intercourse between the volunteers and the residents became more friendly each day, and many hospitalities were shown by the officers to the civilians. About the middle of December, the Ontario Rifles gave a dramatic entertainment in a building fitted up for the purpose, which was followed by several others, much to the delight of the people of Winnipeg and vicinity, and as this was the first regular attempt in the North-West, by an organized company, to



present the drama to the public, it may be interesting to produce the play bill issued on that occasion:

### THEATRE ROYAL.

FIRST ONTARIO RIFLES'

*Musical and Dramatic Association.*

President—Major Wainright; Manager—Quartermaster Sergeant J. R. Cameron; Stage Manager—Sergeant A. de C. Harvey; Leader of Orchestra—Bugle Major Walker; Vocal Director—Paymaster-Sergeant Douglas

Will be given at the  
Theatre Royal, Bannatyne's Building, Winnipeg,  
On Friday evening, Dec 16th, 1870.

#### PART I.

Pot Pourri (Kuhner) - - - - -	Orchestra.
Song of Expedition - - - - -	P. B. Douglas.
Concertina Song—Bonnie Doon - - - - -	H. M. Walker.
Comic Song - - - - -	W. S. Wood.
Beautiful Bells - - - - -	W. S. Balmer.
Ellen Bayne - - - - -	J. Hackett.
Comic Song—Simple Simon (in character) - - - - -	T. Tweed.
Fairy Belle - - - - -	W. R. Balmer.
Dandy Pat (in character) - - - - -	H. M. Walker.
Sleighting Glee - - - - -	Chorus.

#### PART II.

THE CHILD OF CIRCUMSTANCES,


*Or, The Long Lost Father.*

A new, sensational burlesque, in three acts, never before played on any stage.

#### *Dramatis Personæ.*

Robinson Prospero—Monarch of all he surveys - - -	Campbell.
Caliban Friday—A faithful follower of Prospero - - -	W. S. Wood.
Tom Trusty—An interesting young man in love with Grace	Sweetman.
Diddler Nipcheese—A purser, and a villain in love with Grace - - - - -	J. R. Cameron.
Grace Whatshername—A child of circumstances - - -	David Young.
Polly Pert—A damsel attending Grace - - -	English.
Tabby Feline—A real cat, 20 years old - - -	

Soldiers, Sailors, Etc.

 A plan of the box-seats can be seen at the bookstore of H. S. Donaldson, where seats can be secured. Tickets for sale at the follow-

ing places:—Dr. Schultz's, Bannatyne & Beggs', John Higgins', W. H. Lyon's, Davis' Hotel and Garrett House. Box-seats 2 shillings; pit 1 shilling. Doors open at 7 o'clock p m.; performance to commence at half past seven.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN !

Having thus placed on record the first play-bill ever issued in the North-West, we may remark that these entertainments, given by the volunteers, tended greatly to create good feeling between civilians and soldiers; and the residents of Winnipeg, not to be outdone in hospitality, tendered a grand ball (the first of its kind), to the officers of the Ontario and Quebec Rifles. This event took place in February, 1871, and was a most successful affair, all the principal residents in the Province being present. Thus the expedition which started out on an "errand of peace" fulfilled to the letter the purpose for which it came, and many of the volunteers, officers and men, afterwards became prominent citizens in the Province of Manitoba.

On the 2nd March, 1871, the election of members to the Dominion House of Commons took place, and resulted in the return of Mr. D. A. Smith, for Selkirk; Pierre Delorme, for Provencher; Dr. Schultz, for Lisgar, and in Marquette a tie occurred between Angus McKay and Dr. Lynch, each polling 282 votes, which necessitated a new election later on. The Dominion election was followed by the appointment of the Legislative Council on the 10th March, the following gentlemen being selected by His Honor the Lieut.-Governor :

Hon. F. Dauphinais.	Hon. Colin Inkster.
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" Donald Gunn.	" J. H. O'Donnell.
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" Solomon Hamelin.	" Francis Ogletree.
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Hon. James McKay, *Speaker*,

and the Legislative machinery being thus complete, the first

session of the Local Parliament was opened on the 15th March with imposing ceremonies. The Governor was attended by a guard of one hundred men from the Ontario Rifles, and the Parliament House was handsomely decorated for the occasion. It may be mentioned that the large residence belonging to Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne had been procured for the use of the Local Government and Legislature, and until it was destroyed by fire on the 3rd December, 1873, the Government business was conducted there instead of at Fort Garry, as formerly. The *Manitoban*, speaking of the opening of the first Parliament, said :—"It could not be in any respect so grand or costly a display, or on so large a scale, as the Capital of the Dominion can boast on such an occasion, but it had a completeness and dignity which were creditable to our young Province." Hon. Joseph Royal was elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and the deliberations which thus commenced, continued until the 3rd May, 1871, when his Honor gave his assent to the following bills :

1. An Act to establish a Supreme Court in the Province of Manitoba, and for other purposes therein mentioned.
2. An Act for the Keeping of the Public Accounts in Canada Currency.
3. An Act respecting the office of Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.
4. An Act to make valid a certain copy of the Hudson's Bay Company's Plans of Survey, and for other purposes.
5. An Act for the Prevention of Frauds and Perjuries.
6. An Act relating to Wills.
7. An Act relating to Parish Assessments.
8. An Act relating to the Sale of Real Estate under Execution.

9. An Act relating to Deeds by Married Women.
10. An Act relating to County Assessments.
11. An Act relating to Highways.
12. An Act to incorporate the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Boniface.
13. An Act to incorporate the Bishop of the Church of England, Diocese of Rupert's Land.
14. An Act to incorporate St. John's College.
15. An Act to prevent the Deposit of Manure on the Banks of Rivers.
16. An Act relating to Travelling on Highways.
17. An Act to incorporate the North-West General Manufacturing and Investment Company of Manitoba.
18. An Act to incorporate the College of St. Boniface.
19. An Act to regulate the Limits of the Electoral Divisions.
20. An Act relating to Ferries in Manitoba.
21. The Masters' and Servants' Act.
22. An Act relating to the performance of Statute Labor.
23. An Act relating to the Registration of Deeds.
24. An Act to regulate the Administration of Interstate Estates.
25. An Act for enforcing the Better Observance of the Sabbath.
26. An Act concerning Horses at Pasture.
27. An Act respecting Licenses.
28. An Act to impose a Tax on Dogs in this Province.
29. An Act relating to Homesteads.
30. An Act concerning Stray Animals.
31. An Act relating to the Police.
32. An Act to regulate the admission to the Study and Practice of Law in the Province of Manitoba.



33. An Act in reference to Certain Animals Going at Large at Certain Seasons.
34. An Act to incorporate the Manitoba Brick and Pottery Company.
35. An Act for the Destruction of Canada Thistles.
36. An Act to Abolish Slaughter Houses in Winnipeg.
37. An Act authorizing Appointment of Magistrates and Coroners.
38. An Act to establish a System of Education in this Province.
39. An Act to incorporate the Manitoba Brewery Company.
40. An Act respecting the Issuing of Licenses, and for other purposes.
41. An Act relating to Medical Practitioners in this Province.
42. An Act respecting the Statutes of Manitoba.
43. An Act to Provide for Defraying Certain Expenses of the Civil Government of this Province.

On the 16th May, 1871, the first General Quarterly Court, since the Hudson's Bay Company's sway, was held, Judge (the late Sir Francis) Johnson presiding; Mr. John (now Senator) Sutherland being sheriff, and Mr. Thomas Bunn, clerk of the court, and immediately following this event the cards of several legal firms appeared in the newspapers, the lawyers being Messrs. Royal & Dubuc, James Ross, M.A., and D. M. (now Judge) Walker.

Thus were representative institutions inaugurated in the North-West. The wheels of Government were set running, courts of law established, and peace and order assured. On the 1st July, 1871, the first celebration of Dominion Day took place, as will be seen by the following announcement which appeared in the papers of that time:—

1871. DOMINION DAY. 1871.

GRAND CELEBRATION.

The Anniversary of the Dominion of Canada will be celebrated in

THE TOWN OF WINNIPEG,

ON SATURDAY, JULY 1ST, 1871.

By Horse Races—Trotting Matches—Running Matches—Foot Races—Standing Jumps—Running Jumps—High Leaps—Sack and Blindfold Race—Climbing the Greasy Pole—Putting the Stone—Quoits—A Cricket Match—Foot Ball—Throwing the Sledge—Etc., Etc.

— \$500 OF PRIZES —

will be distributed. The firemen will process by Torchlight in the evening. Music during the day.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

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## CHAPTER III

### INDIAN TREATIES.

As soon as the Government of the Province was established, and the first session of the Legislature had been held, Lieut.-Governor Archibald was called upon to turn his attention to the Indians of the country. During the Fall of 1870, they had applied to His Honor to enter into a treaty with them, as they were full of uneasiness, owing to the influx of new-comers and the dread lest their claims would be overlooked. The Lieutenant-Governor had promised them that treaties would be entered into with them during 1871, and accordingly, in that year, Hon. Joseph Howe, Secretary of State, recommended the appointment of Mr. Wemyss M. Simpson, as Indian Commissioner, for the purpose of arranging with the native tribes for the cession of the lands occupied by them. Mr. Simpson was empowered to make treaties with the Indians and to determine such reservations of land as might be required for their use.

The Commissioner, therefore, in company with Messrs. S. J. Dawson and Robert Pether, visited the Ojibewas or Chipewas Indians, between Thunder Bay and the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, in June, 1871, and commenced negotiations with them for securing a treaty. After this, he proceeded to Fort Garry, and, in accordance with his instructions, placed himself at once in communication with Lieut.-

Governor Archibald. The first step was to secure the services of Hon. James McKay, a man who was familiar with Indian ways from his birth, and who was known and respected by all the tribes in the country. No one had more influence with the natives than Mr. McKay, and to his advice and assistance, was due, in a large measure, the success of the treaties afterwards effected. At a conference which took place between Governor Archibald, Messrs. Simpson, Dawson, and Pether, and Hon. James McKay, it was decided to secure the extinction of the Indian title not only to the lands in Manitoba, but also to so much of the timber grounds east and north of the Province as were required for immediate use, as well as a large tract of cultivable land west of Portage la Prairie, where there were few Indians. It was therefore resolved to open negotiations at Lower Fort Garry with the Indians of the Province, and with those of other districts at the Hudson's Bay post at Lake Manitoba.

A proclamation was issued by Mr. Simpson, calling upon the Indians to meet him on the 25th July and 17th August, 1871, at these points, respectively, to negotiate a treaty, but, on the 24th, when Governor Archibald and the Commissioner's party arrived at the Lower Fort, it was found that a number of the Indians had not put in an appearance, and the meeting was postponed until the 27th. On that day, over a thousand of the red men assembled, accompanied by a number of half-breeds and other residents of the Province.

Governor Archibald then addressed the Indians as follows :

"On the 13th September last, on my first arrival in the country, I met a number of you at the mission. I told you I could not then negotiate a treaty with the Indians, but that I was charged by your Great Mother, the Queen, to tell you



that she had been very glad to see that you had acted, during the troubles, like good and true children of your Great Mother. I told you, also, that as soon as possible you would all be called together to consider the terms of a treaty to be entered into between you and your Great Mother.

“I advised you to disperse to your homes, and gave you some ammunition to enable you to gain a livelihood during the winter, by hunting.

“I promised that in the spring you would be sent for, and that I, or some person directly appointed to represent your Great Mother, should be here to meet you, and notice would be given you when to convene at this place, to talk over what was right to be done.

“Early in the spring, Mr. Simpson, who sits beside me, was made Commissioner. He left his home at once for this Province, by Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods.

“The Indians of the lake districts meet, as you know, on Rainy River yearly, about the 20th June, to fish for sturgeon, and they could not be called together sooner.

“Mr. Simpson met them there at that time, and talked over their affairs with them, and made certain arrangements with them. He then hurried on to see you and reached this province a week ago last Sunday. He then sent messengers at once to all the Indians within certain bounds, asking them to meet him here on the 25th day of July. Some of you were unable to come so soon, and he has, therefore, at the instance of those who were here, waited till to-day to open the talk. I believe that now you are all arrived, and ready to proceed to business.

“It will be the duty of the Commissioner to talk to you on the particular details of the treaty, and I will give place to

him presently, but there are one or two things of a general kind, which I would like, before I close, to bring to your notice, for you to think about among yourselves.

“First,—Your Great Mother, the Queen, wishes to do justice to all her children alike. She will deal fairly with those of the setting sun, just as she would with those of the rising sun. She wishes order and peace to reign through all her country, and while her arm is strong to punish the wicked man, her hand is also open to reward the good man, everywhere in her dominions.

“Your Great Mother wishes the good of all races under her sway. She wishes her red children to be happy and contented. She wishes them to live in comfort. She would like them to adopt the habits of the whites, to till land and raise food and store it up against a time of want. She thinks this would be the best thing for her red children to do, that it would make them safer from famine and distress, and make their homes more comfortable.

“But the Queen, though she may think it good for you to adopt civilized habits, has no idea of compelling you to do so. This she leaves to your choice, and you need not live like the white man unless you can be persuaded to do so of your own free will. Many of you, however, are already doing this.

“I drove yesterday through the village below this fort. There I saw many well-built houses, and many well-tilled fields, with wheat and barley, and potatoes growing, and giving promise of plenty for the winter to come. The people who till these fields and live in these houses, are men of your own race, and they show that you can live and prosper, and provide like the white man.

“What I saw in my drive is enough to prove that even if

there was not a buffalo or a fur-bearing animal in the country, you could live and be surrounded with comfort, by what you can raise from the soil.

“Your Great Mother, therefore, will lay aside for you ‘lots’ of land, to be used by you and your children forever. She will not allow the white man to intrude upon these lots. She will make rules to keep them for you, so that as long as the sun shall shine there shall be no Indian who has not a place that he can call his home, where he can go and pitch his camp, or, if he chooses, build his house and till his land.

“These reserves will be large enough, but you must not expect them to be larger than will be enough to give a farm to each family, where farms shall be required. They will enable you to earn a living, should the chase fail, and, should you choose to get your living by tilling, you must not expect to have, included in your reserve, more hay-grounds than will be reasonably sufficient for your purposes, in case you adopt the habits of farmers. The old settlers and the settlers that are coming in must be dealt with on the principles of fairness and justice, as well as yourselves. Your Great Mother knows no difference between any of her people. Another thing I want you to think over, is this: In laying aside these reserves, and in everything else that the Queen shall do for you, you must understand that she can do for you no more than she has done for her red children in the East. If she were to do more for you that would be unjust to them. She will not do less for you, because you are all her children alike, and she must treat you all alike.

“When you have made your treaty, you will still be free to hunt over much of the land included in the treaty. Much of it is rocky and unfit for cultivation, much of it that is wooded

is beyond the places where the white man will require to go, at all events for some time to come. Till these lands are needed for use, you will be free to hunt over them, and make all the use of them which you have made in the past. But when lands are needed to be tilled or occupied you must not go on them any more. There will still be plenty of land that is neither tilled nor occupied, where you can go and roam and hunt as you have always done, and, if you wish to farm, you will go to your own reserve where you will find a place ready for you to live on and cultivate.

“There is another thing I have to say to you. Your Great Mother cannot come here herself to talk with you, but she has sent a messenger who has her confidence.

“Mr. Simpson will tell you truly all her wishes. As the Queen has made her choice of a chief to represent her, you must, on your part, point out to us the chiefs you wish to represent you, as the persons you have faith in.

“Mr. Simpson cannot talk to all your braves and people, but when he talks to chiefs who have your confidence he is talking to you all, and when he hears the voice of one of your chiefs, whom you name, he will hear the voice of you all. It is for you to say who shall talk for you, and also who shall be your chief men. Let them be good Indians, who know your wishes, and whom you have faith in.

“You will look to the Commissioner to fulfil everything he agrees to do, and the Queen will look to the chiefs you name to us, to see that you keep your parts of the agreement.

“It is our wish to deal with you fairly and frankly.

“If you have any questions to ask, ask them; if you have anything you wish the Queen to know, speak out plainly.

“Now, chiefs and braves, and people, I introduce to you



Mr. Simpson, who will say anything he thinks fit, in addition to what I have said.

“When you hear his voice, you are listening to your Great Mother, the Queen, whom God bless and preserve long to reign over us.”

At the conclusion of Governor Archibald's speech, Commissioner Simpson was introduced to the Indians, and addressed them, after which the meeting was adjourned till the following day, in order to allow the selection of representative chiefs and spokesmen.

When the conference was resumed, there appeared to be a hesitation on the part of the Indians to proceed with the regular business, and, on being asked the reason, they replied that four Swampy Cree Indians were confined in prison for having broken a contract as boatmen with the Hudson's Bay Company, and that while their brethren were prisoners they did not care to proceed with the treaty-making. Thereupon, the Lieutenant-Governor, as a matter of favor to the Indians assembled, ordered the release of the prisoners, and the conference proceeded with the negotiations.

For some time, there was difficulty in making the Indians understand the provisions of the proposed treaty, but eventually, on the 3rd August, Treaty No. 1 was concluded, the full text of which will be found in the appendix to this volume. On the 21st August, Mr. Simpson and party, accompanied by Lieut.-Governor Archibald, Hon. Jas. McKay, and Mr. Molyneux St. John, met the Indians at Manitoba Post, and as the terms contained in Treaty No. 1 had become known to them, and with which they agreed, there was very little difficulty in coming to an understanding with them. Treaty No. 2 was therefore speedily concluded, and thus the extinguishment of

the Indian title in Manitoba, and in a tract of country fully equal in resources beyond it, was brought about.

We cannot better conclude this chapter than by quoting in full the following letter of Governor Archibald, addressed to the Honorable Secretary of State for the Provinces, and the reports of Commissioner Simpson, in regard to these treaties, because these documents give a good idea of the general principles adopted by the Government in treating with all the various tribes in the North-West.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

SILVER HEIGHTS, July 22nd, 1871.

SIR—I have the honor to enclose you copy of a proclamation I have caused to be issued, with a view to prevent the danger arising from intoxicating drinks being given to the Indians, on the occasion of the meeting to negotiate a treaty.

I look upon the proceedings we are now initiating as important in their bearing upon our relations to the Indians of the whole continent. In fact, the terms we now agree upon will probably shape the arrangements we shall have to make with all the Indians between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains. It will, therefore, be well to neglect nothing that is within our power to enable us to start fairly with the negotiations.

With that view, I have amongst other things asked Major Irvine to detail a few of his troops to be present at the opening of the treaty. Military display has always a great effect on savages, and the presence even of a few troops will have a good tendency.

I fear we shall have to incur a considerable expenditure for presents of food, etc., during the negotiations; but any cost for that purpose I shall deem a matter of minor consequence. The real burden to be considered is that which is to be borne in each recurring year.

I doubt if it will be found practicable to make arrangements upon so favorable a basis as that prescribed by His Excellency the Governor-General, as the maximum to be allowed in case of a treaty with the Lake Indians.

Nor indeed would it be right, if we look to what we receive, to measure the benefits we derive from coming into possession of the magnificent territory we are appropriating here, by what would be fair to allow for the rocks and swamps, and muskegs of the lake country east of this Province.

But to this subject I shall probably take occasion to call your attention at an early day.

I have, etc.,

ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD.

The Hon. the Secretary of State  
for the Provinces, Ottawa.

On the 29th July, Governor Archibald again addressed the Hon. Joseph Howe, as follows :—

LOWER FORT GARRY, July 29th, 1871.

SIR—I have the honor to inform you that on Monday last I came to this fort with the Commissioner to meet the Indians called here with the view to negotiate a treaty, intending to open the business on Tuesday morning.

It appeared, however, on enquiry, that some bands of Indians had not arrived on Tuesday morning, and we were therefore obliged to postpone the opening of the meeting till Thursday. On that day, the Indians from all the sections of the country to which the invitation extended were found present, to the number of about one thousand. A considerable body of half-breeds, and other inhabitants of the country, were also present, awaiting with some anxiety to learn what should be announced as the policy of the Government.

I enclose you a memorandum of the observations with which I opened the meeting. On reading them, you will observe one or two points which may require some explanation.

At the time of the treaty with Earl Selkirk, certain Indians signed as chiefs and representatives of their people. Some of the Indians now deny that these men ever were chiefs, or had authority to sign the treaty.

With a view, therefore, to avoid a recurrence of any such question, we asked the Indians, as a first step, to agree among themselves in selecting their chiefs, and then to present them to us, and have their names and authority recorded.

Furthermore, the Indians seem to have false ideas of the meaning of a reserve. They have been led to suppose that large tracts of ground were to be set aside for them as hunting grounds, including timber lands, of which they might sell the wood as if they were proprietors of the soil.

I wished to correct this idea at the outset.

Mr. Simpson followed me with some observations in the same strain, after which the Indians retired to select their chiefs and spokesmen

On Friday morning, the chiefs and spokesmen were duly presented, and, after their names were recorded, the Indians were invited to express their views.

After some delay, they stated that there was a cloud before them which made things dark, and they did not wish to commence the proceedings till the cloud was dispersed.

On enquiring into their meaning, I found that they were referring to some four of their number, who were prisoners in gaol. It seems that some Swampy Indians had entered into a contract with the Hudson's Bay Company as boatmen and had deserted, and had been brought up before magistrates under a local law of last session, and fined, and in default of payment sent to prison for forty days.

Of this term some considerable part had expired. A few of the offenders had paid their fines, but there were still four Indians remaining in prison.

On learning the facts, I told the Indians that I could not listen to them if they made a demand for the release of the Indians as a matter of right ; that every subject of the Queen, whether Indian, half-breed, or white, was equal in the eye of the law ; that every offender against the law must be punished, whatever race he belonged to ; but I said that on the opening of negotiations with them the Queen would like to see all her Indians taking part in them, and if the whole body present were to ask as a matter of grace and favor under the circumstances, that their brethren should be released, Her Majesty would be willing to consent to their discharge ; she would grant as a favor what she must refuse if asked for on any other ground. They replied by saying that they begged it as a matter of favor only. Thereupon I acceded to their request, and directed the discharge of the four Indians. This was received with great satisfaction. I explained again, that there might be no misunderstanding about it, that henceforth every offender against the law must be punished. They all expressed their acquiescence in what I said. The discharge of the prisoners had an excellent effect.

Next morning the Indians, through one of their spokesmen, declared, in presence of the whole body assembled, that from this time they would never raise their voice against the law being enforced. After the order of the release, the chiefs and spokesmen addressed us, questions were asked and answered, and some progress made in the negotiations. Eventually the meeting adjourned till this morning at ten o'clock.

A general acquiescence in the views laid down by Mr. Simpson and myself was expressed ; but it was quite clear by the proceedings of to-day that our views were imperfectly apprehended. When we met this morning, the Indians were invited to state their wishes as to the reserves ; they were to say how much they thought would be sufficient, and whether they wished them all in one or in several places.

In defining the limits of their reserves, so far as we could see, they



wished to have about two-thirds of the Province. We heard them out, and then told them it was quite clear that they had entirely misunderstood the meaning and intention of reserves.

We explained the object of these in something like the language of the memorandum enclosed, and then told them it was of no use for them to entertain any such ideas, which were entirely out of the question. We told them that whether they wished it or not, immigrants would come in and fill up the country; that every year from this one twice as many in number as their whole people there assembled would pour into the Province, and in a little while would spread all over it, and that now was the time for them to come to an arrangement that would secure homes and annuities for themselves and their children.

We told them what we proposed to allow them was an extent of one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion; that they might have their land where they chose, not interfering with existing occupants; that we should allow an annuity of twelve dollars for every family of five, or in that proportion per head. We requested them to think over these propositions till Monday morning.

If they thought it better to have no treaty at all they might do without one, but they must make up their minds; if there was to be a treaty it must be on a basis like that offered.

That, under some such arrangements, the Indians in the east were living happy and contented, enjoying themselves, drawing their annuities, and satisfied with their position.

The observations seemed to command the acquiescence of the majority, and on Monday morning we hope to meet them in a better frame for the discussion and settlement of the treaty.

I have, etc.,

ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD.

The Honorable the Secretary of State  
for the Provinces.

The following report of Commissioner Simpson gives full particulars of the negotiations in relation to Treaties 1 and 2, which were concluded by the 21st August, 1871:

OTTAWA, November 3rd, 1871.

To the Honorable the Secretary of State  
for the Provinces, Ottawa.

SIR—I have the honor to submit to you, for the information of His Excellency the Governor-General, a report of my negotiations with the Indians of the Province of Manitoba, and with certain of the Indians of

the North-West Territory, entered upon by me in accordance with your instructions, dated 3rd May, 1871.

Having, in association with S. J. Dawson, Esq., and Robert Pether, Esq., effected a preliminary arrangement with the Indians of Rainy Lake, the particulars of which I have already had the honor of reporting to you in my report, dated July 11th, 1871, I proceeded by the Lake of the Woods and Dawson Road to Fort Garry, at which place I arrived on the 16th July.

Bearing in mind your desire that I should confer with the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, I called upon Mr. Archibald, and learned from him that the Indians were anxiously awaiting my arrival, and were much excited on the subject of their lands being occupied without attention being first given to their claims for compensation. Amongst the settlers also, an uneasy feeling existed, arising partly from the often-repeated demands of the Indians for a treaty with themselves, and partly from the fact that certain settlers in the neighborhood of Portage la Prairie, and other parts of the Province, had been warned by the Indians not to cut wood, or otherwise take possession of the lands upon which they were squatting. The Indians, it appeared, consented to their remaining on their holdings until sufficient time had been allowed for my arrival, and the conclusion of a treaty; but they were unwilling to allow the settlers the free use of the country for themselves or their cattle. Mr. Archibald, and those residents in the Province of Manitoba with whom I conversed on the subject, appeared to think that no time should be lost in meeting the Indians, as some assurances had already been given them that a treaty would be made with them during the summer of 1871; and I therefore at once issued notices calling certain of the Indians together, naming two places at which I would meet them. The first meeting, to which were asked the Indians of the Province, and certain others on the eastern side, was to be held on the 25th of July, at the Stone Fort, a Hudson's Bay Company's post, situated on the Red River, about twenty miles northward of Fort Garry—a locality chosen as being the most central for those invited. The second meeting was appointed to be held on August 17th, at Manitoba Post, a Hudson's Bay Company's post at the north-west extremity of Lake Manitoba, as it was deemed that such of the bands of Indians residing without the limits of the Province of Manitoba, as I purposed to deal with at present, would meet there more readily than elsewhere.

On Monday, the 24th of July, I met the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba at the Stone Fort; but negotiations were unavoidably delayed, owing to the fact that only one band of Indians had arrived, and that until all were on the spot, those present declined to discuss the subject of a treaty except in an informal manner. Amongst these, as amongst other Indians

with whom I have come in contact, there exists great jealousy of one another, in all matters relating to their communications with the officials of Her Majesty, and in order to facilitate the object in view, it was most desirable that suspicion and jealousy of all kinds should be allayed. The fact of the Commissioner having arrived was sufficient evidence of the good intentions of Her Majesty's Government, and it seemed better to await the arrival of all whom I had summoned than to press matters to an issue while any were absent. This, however, entailed the necessity of feeding those who were already there, and others as they arrived.

It is customary in dealing with Indians to do so, and in this case it was absolutely necessary, for, obviously, it would have been impossible to invite those people from a distance, and then leave them to starve at our doors, or, in search of food, to plunder the neighborhood into which they had been introduced. At that season of the year, the Indians were not engaged in fishing or hunting, and consequently large numbers of men, women and children attended at the place of meeting, for all of whom food was provided. The price of provisions, even at the lowest price for which they could be obtained, was high, pork being fifty dollars a barrel, and flour twenty shillings sterling per hundred, and such cattle as I was able to purchase, £16 per head; so that the expense of keeping the Indians during the negotiation of treaty and payment of the gratuity, which lasted eleven days, forms no small share of the total expenditure. In addition to this expense, it was thought necessary by the Lieutenant-Governor that Major Irvine, commanding the troops at Fort Garry, should be requested to furnish a guard at the Stone Fort during the negotiations, and that there should be at hand also a force of constabulary for the purpose of preventing the introduction of liquor amongst the Indian encampments. Other expenses of a somewhat similar nature were incurred, which would be totally unnecessary upon any future occasion of payment being made to the Indians of Manitoba. I may here refer to the apparently prolonged duration of the first negotiation, and explain in reference thereto the causes, or some of them, that entailed the loss of time and attendant expense. For some time a doubt has existed whether the chief nominally at the head of the Indians of the Indian settlement possessed the good-will and confidence of that band; and I thought it advisable to require that the several bands of Indians should select such chiefs as they thought proper, and present these men as their authorized chiefs, before anything was said as to the terms of a treaty. The Indians, having acquiesced in this proposal, forthwith proceeded to such election; but the proceeding apparently involved discussion and consideration amongst themselves, and two days elapsed before the men chosen were presented for recognition, and the business of the meeting commenced.

When the peculiar circumstances surrounding the position of the In-

dians of the Province were pointed out, the future of the country predicted, and the views and intentions of the Government explained by the Lieutenant-Governor and myself, the Indians professed a desire for time to think over what had been said before making any reply; and when their answer came, it proved to contain demands of such an exorbitant nature that much time was spent in reducing their terms to a basis upon which an arrangement could be made.

Every band had its spokesman, in addition to its chief, and each seemed to vie with another in the dimensions of their requirements. I may mention, as an illustration, that in the matter of reserves the quantity of land demanded for each band amounted to about three townships per Indian, and included the greater part of the settled portions of the Province. It was not until the 3rd August, or nine days after the first meeting, that the basis of arrangement was arrived at, upon which is founded the treaty of that date. Then, and by means of mutual concessions, the following terms were agreed upon: For the cession of the country, described in the treaty referred to, and comprising the Province of Manitoba and certain country in the north-east thereof, every Indian was to receive a sum of three dollars a year, in perpetuity, and a reserve was to be set apart for each band, of sufficient size to allow one hundred and sixty acres to each family of five persons, or in like proportion as the family might be greater or less than five. As each Indian settled down upon his share of the reserve, and commenced the cultivation of his land, he was to receive a plough and harrow. Each chief was to receive a cow and a male and female of the smaller kinds of animals bred upon a farm. There was to be a bull for the general use of each reserve. In addition to this, each chief was to receive a dress, a flag and a medal as marks of distinction; and each chief, with the exception of Bozawequare the chief of the Portage band, was to receive a buggy or light spring waggon. Two councillors and two braves of each band were to receive a dress somewhat inferior to that provided for the chiefs; and, the braves and councillors of the Portage band excepted, were to receive a buggy. Every Indian was to receive a gratuity of three dollars, which, though given as a payment for good behavior, was to be understood to cover all dimensions for the past.

On this basis, the treaty was signed by myself, and the several chiefs on behalf of themselves and their respective bands, on the 3rd August, 1871, and on the following day the payment commenced.

The three dollars gratuity above referred to will not occur in the ordinary annual payments to the Indians of Manitoba, and, though doubling the amount paid this year, may now properly be regarded as belonging to a previous year, but only now liquidated.

A large number of Indians, entitled to share in the treaty, were absent on the 3rd August, and in the belief that I should almost immediately be



able to obtain a more accurate knowledge than I possessed of the number of the several bands, I paid to each person present only three dollars—the gratuity—postponing for a short time the first annual payment. Having completed this disbursement, I prepared to start for Manitoba Post, to open negotiations with the Indians on the immediate north and north-west borders of the Province of Manitoba, promising, however, to visit the several bands of the first treaty, in their own districts, and to there pay them. By this means, the necessity for their leaving their own homes, and for the Government's feeding them while they were being paid and during their journey home, was avoided.

After completing the treaty at Manitoba Post, of which mention is hereinafter made, I visited Portage la Prairie, the Indian Settlement at St. Peters, Rivière Marais and the Town of Winnipeg, according to my promise, and at each place, with the exception of Rivière Marais, found the Indians satisfied with the treaty, and awaiting their payment. At Rivière Marais, which was the rendezvous appointed by the bands living in the neighborhood of Pembina, I found that the Indians had either misunderstood the advice given them by parties in the settlement, well disposed towards the treaty, or, as I have some reason to believe, had become unsettled by the representations made by persons in the vicinity of Pembina, whose interests lay elsewhere than in the Province of Manitoba; for, on my announcing my readiness to pay them, they demurred at receiving their money until some further concessions had been made by me.

With a view of inducing the Indians to adopt the habits and labors of civilization, it had been agreed, at the signing of the treaty, as before mentioned, to give certain animals as a nucleus for stocking the several reserves, together with certain farming implements; and it was now represented to me by the spokesman of the bands that as the Queen had, with that kindness of heart which distinguished her dealings with her red children, expressed a desire to see the Indians discard their former precarious mode of living, and adopt the agricultural pursuits of the white man, they were desirous of acceding to the wish of their Great Mother, and were now prepared to receive the gifts she had been good enough to speak of through her Commissioner in full. But as it could make no difference whatever to their Great Mother, whether these things were given in kind or in money value, her red children of the Pembina bands were resolved to receive them in the latter form. I had put a valuation upon all the articles mentioned in the supplement to the treaty, and could go no further in the matter, unless I was prepared to pay them for all these articles at the rates they would now proceed to mention. I declined to comply with the request, and they declined to receive their first annual payment, whereupon I broke up my camp and returned to Winnipeg. As I foresaw at the time, this determination on their part was shortly repented,



and a number of their leading men were subsequently paid at Winnipeg ; while, at the request of the Indians, the money for the remainder, together with a pay-sheet, was forwarded to the officer in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's Post at Pembina, with instructions to pay the Indians as per list as each might present himself. At Portage la Prairie, although the number paid at the Stone Fort was largely increased, there still remained many who, from absence or other causes, were not paid, and by request of the chief, the money was left for these with the officers in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's Post, in the same manner as was done for the Pembina bands.

As I was unable to proceed to Fort Alexander, the payments for the Indians, or for such of them as were present at the signing of the treaty, were sent in like manner to the officer in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's Post at Fort Alexander, but it may be as well to mention that the number so paid will fall far short of the total number belonging to that place. The latter remark will apply to the Pembina band, for their payment was sent as per gratuity list, and there must necessarily have been others who did not receive payment. All these must receive their back payments during the course of next year.

During the payment of the several bands, it was found that in some, and most notably in the Indian settlement and Broken Head River Band, a number of those residing among the Indians are in reality half-breeds, and entitled to share in the land grant under the provisions of the Manitoba Act. I was most particular in causing it to be explained generally, and to individuals, that any person now electing to be classed with Indians, and receiving the Indian pay and gratuity, would, I believed, thereby forfeit his or her right to another grant as a half-breed, and in all cases where it was known that a man was a half-breed the matter, as it affected himself and children, was explained to him, and the choice given to him to characterize himself. A very few only decided upon taking their grants as half-breeds. The explanation of this apparent sacrifice is found in the fact that the mass of these persons have lived all their lives on the Indian reserve (so called), and would rather receive such benefits as may accrue to them under the Indian treaty, than wait the realization of any value in their half-breed grant.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba having expressed a desire to be present at the negotiation of the treaty at Manitoba Post, His Honor, accompanied by Hon. Jas. McKay, proceeded thither with me, in company with Mr. Molyneux St. John, the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, who had assisted me in the duties connected with the former treaty and payments. I left Winnipeg on the 13th August, but owing to adverse winds on Lake Manitoba, did not arrive until two days after the time appointed. I found that in the meanwhile the officer in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's Post had been obliged to give some provi-

sions to the Indians pending my arrival ; but, on speaking to the leading men of the bands assembled, it was evident that the Indians of this part had no special demands to make, but having a knowledge of the former treaty, desired to be dealt with in the same manner and on the same terms as those adopted by the Indians of the Province of Manitoba.

The negotiations with these bands, therefore, occupied little time, and on the 21st August, 1871 a treaty was concluded by which a tract of country, three times as large as the Province of Manitoba, was surrendered by the Indians to the Crown. Payment in full, that is to say, the gratuity and the first payment was at once made ; and I have since written to the officers in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's Posts, within the tract above referred to, requesting them to procure for me a reliable census of the Indians, parties to this treaty.

I have referred to the cost of effecting these treaties, and remarked that it will prove to be exceptional. It may be regarded as entirely so, as far as the Indians with whom the dealings were held are concerned. In the future, the annual payment will be only one half to each Indian of the amount paid this year, for the gratuity was the same as the payment, and the heavy expense of feeding the Indians while at the place of meeting and on their journey home, will be avoided by the payment being made near their own reserves.

All the collateral expenses, therefore, of this year, including dresses, medals, presents to the Indians, etc., etc., will not appear in the expenses attending during future payments.

But it is to be remembered, that a large number of Indians whose lands were ceded by the second treaty, were not present. The distance from the hunting grounds of some to Manitoba Post, is very great ; but, while their absence was to be regretted for some reasons, it effected a very considerable saving in the item of provisions.

During the ensuing season, these persons will probably be found at the place where the payments will be made, and will then require their payments as if they had been present at the signing of the treaty.

Of the land ceded in the Province of Manitoba, it will be hardly necessary for me to speak, as His Excellency the Governor-General is already in possession of accurate information touching its fertility and resources ; but I may observe, that valuable as are these lands, they are fully equalled, if not exceeded, by the country of which the Government now comes into possession, by virtue of the treaty concluded at Manitoba Post. Already, settlers from the Provinces in Canada and elsewhere, are pushing their way beyond the limits of the Province of Manitoba, and there is nothing but the arbitrary limits of that Province and certain wood and water advantages found in the territory beyond it, to distinguish one part of the country from the other. The fertility that is possessed by Manitoba, is shared by the country and its confines. The water courses of the

Province are excelled by those of the territory ; and the want of wood which threatens serious difficulty in the one, is by no means so apparent in the other.

The Indians of both parts have a firm belief in the honor and integrity of Her Majesty's representatives, and are fully impressed with the idea that the amelioration of their present condition is one of the objects of Her Majesty in making these treaties. Although many years will elapse before they can be regarded as a settled population—settled in the sense of following agricultural pursuits—the Indians have already shown a disposition to provide against the vicissitudes of the chase, by cultivating small patches of corn and potatoes. Moreover, in the Province of Manitoba, where labor is scarce, Indians give great assistance in gathering in the crops. At Portage la Prairie, both Chippewas and Sioux were largely employed in the grain field ; and in other parishes I found many farmers whose employés were nearly all Indians.

Although serious trouble has from time to time occurred across the boundary line, with Indians of the same tribes, and, indeed, of the same bands as those in Manitoba, there is no reason to fear any trouble with those who regard themselves as subjects of Her Majesty. Their desire is to live at peace with the white man, to trade with him, and, when they are disposed, to work for him ; and I believe that nothing but gross injustice or oppression will induce them either to forget the allegiance which they now claim with pride, or molest the white subjects of the Sovereign whom they regard as their supreme chief.

The system of an annual payment in money, I regard as a good one, because the recipient is enabled to purchase just what he requires when he can get it most cheaply, and it also enables him to buy articles at second hand, from settlers and others, that are quite as useful to him as are the same things when new. The sum of three dollars does not appear to be large enough to enable an Indian to provide himself with many of his winter necessities ; but, as he receives the same amount for his wife or wives, and for each of his children, the aggregate sum is usually sufficient to procure many comforts for his family which he would otherwise be compelled to deny himself. \* \* \* \* \*

I take this opportunity of acknowledging the assistance afforded me in successfully completing the two treaties to which I have referred, by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, the Hon. James McKay, and the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. In a country where transport and all other business facilities are necessarily so scarce, the services rendered to the Government by the officers in charge of the several Hudson's Bay Posts have been most opportune and valuable.

I have, etc., etc.,

WEMYSS M. SIMPSON,

*Indian Commissioner.*

The Treaties No. 1 and 2 paved the way for negotiations with other tribes in the North-West, and made the task of successfully completing arrangements with the various bands of Indians throughout the country, all the easier; and to the influence and exertions of Hon. Jas. McKay is due, in a large measure, the satisfactory ending of Commissioner Simpson's efforts in 1871.

The tribes between Lake Superior and the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods were not prepared to conclude a treaty in 1871, and in the following year they were found to be still unprepared to enter into arrangements with the Government, so that it was not until 1873 that Treaty No. 3 was concluded, a full report of which will appear in its proper place.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### CLAIMS ARISING OUT OF THE REBELLION, 1869-70.

SOON after the close of the Rebellion of 1869-70, the authorities at Ottawa were inundated with claims presented by parties who had suffered losses by the uprising. The greater portion of these claims came from the loyal Canadian party, the largest being that of Dr. John Schultz, who represented his loss at \$65,065, of which \$10,000 was claimed for imprisonment, including expatriation. There were, besides the loyal Canadians, a few of the merchants and several settlers among the claimants, but the bulk of them were Canadians, some of whom had left the country after the Rebellion, and were residing in Eastern Canada. The total amount of losses, according to the accounts rendered, was \$336,260.95, made up as follows :—

Loss of Property .....	\$101,632 19
For Imprisonment .....	105,029 50
For Forced Emigration .....	21,374 50
For Damages .....	108,224 76
	<hr/>
	\$336,260 95

In 1871, the Parliament of the Dominion had advanced a sum of \$40,000 towards compensating the sufferers by the Rebellion, until such time as the claims could be investigated and of this sum the following amounts were paid out :—



Dr. Schultz, advance on account of claim	\$ 4,000 00
Do. do. ..	11,000 00
Do. do. ..	5,000 00
Advanced to Refugees who were obliged to leave the territory .....	800 00
	<hr/>
	\$20,800 00

Judge Johnson (afterwards Sir Francis Johnson), in July, 1871, received instructions to investigate these claims, and, in accordance therewith, proceeded to Manitoba, where he arrived on the 6th August, and on the day following he caused printed notices, in French and English, to be published and circulated in the different parishes of the Province, intimating that he would receive claims, and such evidence in support of them as the several claimants might offer. Notices to the same effect were published in the newspapers, and during the whole of August, and afterwards, as claims were presented, Judge Johnson heard evidence in support of them. The amount claimed far exceeded the most liberal estimates in regard to it, and when it is considered that Judge Johnson, after hearing all the evidence in support of the claims, cut the sum of \$336,260.95 down to \$85,755.95, the only conclusion to be arrived at is that a good many of the claimants must have placed a very high estimate upon the value of their losses, and the extent of their sufferings. When the award of the Rebellion losses became known, there was, therefore, a good deal of dissatisfaction expressed by a number of the parties interested, especially when they learned the large amount claimed and received by one or two of the claimants.

It may be well, however, to give an extract from Judge Johnson's report, as follows:—

“Every claim intended to be presented has, I have reason to believe, been received with all the evidence within the power of the several parties to procure.

“There may be a very few, but not more I think than five or six at the utmost, that have not yet been brought forward, owing to the absence of the claimants, but these should not, in my judgment, further delay my report.

“Many, and indeed most, of the claims presented did not seem to me included in the terms of the vote in supply ; but as they were usually mixed with demands grounded on imprisonment or loss of property, which did come within those terms, the course I adopted was to receive all the evidence that the parties desired to bring forward, and to consider, in forming my conclusions, only such testimony as was applicable under the terms of the vote.

“In every instance, the claimant and his witnesses have been duly sworn, and I have taken their evidence with my own hand.

“Referring to the terms of the extract from the Treasury Minute communicated, I find that I am requested, ‘after an examination and inquiry into such claims, to report the evidence taken in regard thereto, and my conclusions thereon.’

“I have, therefore, the honor to report that all claims made before me, together with the evidence in support of each, and my conclusions thereon, will be found in the sealed packet intended to accompany this letter. Every case is numbered and docketed with the name of the claimant, and contains the claim, the evidence, and my conclusions upon it.

“I have also the honor to enclose a list containing the number, distinguishing each claim, the name of the claimant, the

amount claimed, and the amount indicated by my conclusions upon the evidence.

“In the execution of an office of such difficulty and delicacy, I have considered it my duty to be guided by equitable principles rather than by technical rules. I have reserved to myself, however, as the only possible means of disposing of the demands, many of them conscientious, and some, I believe, the reverse, the discretionary power of judging, as a juryman would do, in a matter that I consider fair and right, under circumstances not always fully appearing on the face of the proceeding. If I have adopted a proper view of the duty required at my hands in this matter, I see a prospect, and I must add the only prospect, of an end to demands which, in their nature, irritate to some extent a portion of the public mind.

“I was, I must confess, unable to perceive any other mode of proceeding open to me. It appeared to me that I was called upon (however imperfect the means afforded) to hear and judge, and not to put myself in a position of resisting or questioning.

“I therefore heard all the evidence in every case that the party claimant desired to adduce. In all cases the claimants were represented by professional advisers, who placed their demands in the most advantageous position possible; while the public interest may be said to have been entirely unrepresented, unless I am right in the supposition upon which I have acted, that I was called upon to judge *ex equo et bono*, and to consider all the circumstances of every case, whether arising immediately from the evidence which the claimant chose to deduce, or from events of a public nature, of which I was personally and officially cognizant.

“The principles I have applied to all cases are:—

" 1st. To require all reasonable proof of every essential fact upon which the claim was founded.

" 2nd. To allow for all proved losses which were the direct and immediate consequence of the insurrection, and not attributable to the fault or negligence of the claimant.

" 3rd. To take the claimant's own sworn estimate of the value of property lost, where such value was *ex-necessitate* within his exclusive knowledge.

" 4th. To have regard to facts of a public and general nature, such as the official, or assumed official, character of individuals who notoriously and openly acted either under or against the authority of the so-called Provisional Government.

" I have restricted my attention, 1st, to claims for loss of property ; 2nd, to claims for imprisonment ; and 3rd, to claims for forced emigration from the territory.

" The two first heads of inquiry seem to want no comment. With reference to the third, I have considered the word ' forced ' implied no preference or mere alarm, but compulsion, arising from serious danger to life or liberty.

" In applying these principles I have, of course, excluded from my consideration claims for damages in the legal sense, as counter-distinguished from actual loss. The brief text of law that regulates my proceedings not including claims *for any description* of damages. If these should ever be the subject of investigation, I fear it would open a field of endless controversy, and require an appropriation many times larger than that already made."

Judge Johnson then recommended compensation to a man named Narcisse Marion, to the extent of \$100, as he was one who had rendered service on the side of law and order.

The awards to the claimants were as follows:—

	Awards.	Claimed.
Loss of property . . . . .	\$61,183 45	\$101,632 19
For imprisonment . . . . .	12,834 50	105,029 50
Forced emigration . . . . .	10,993 50	21,374 50
Damages . . . . .	744 50	108,224 76
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$85,755 95	\$336,260 95

In a report of the Privy Council, dated 9th April, 1872, and approved by the Governor-General in Council, it was recommended that the sum of two thousand dollars should be paid to the parents of Thomas Scott, who was shot at Fort Garry, and subsequently the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company were settled, the particulars of which will be found elsewhere.

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## CHAPTER V.

### HALF-BREED COMPLICATIONS AND THE FENIAN RAID.

IN 1871, the nearest point to which the railway system of the United States had reached in the direction of Manitoba, was Brainard, Minnesota, the Northern Pacific Railroad having been completed to that town. The brigades of carts, therefore, continued to make summer trips to St. Cloud for the purpose of bringing in the supplies required by the people of the Province. But, in the winter of 1871-72, Mr. James J. Hill (now President of the Great Northern Railroad), who was then intimately connected with the trade of the North-West, undertook the construction of a steamer to ply on the waters of the Red River, and in the spring of 1872 the boat made her first trip to Fort Garry heavily laden with merchandise of every description. Mr. Hill named his steamer the *Selkirk*, and having taken the precaution to bond her in the United States Customs, he had the pleasure and profit of carrying all the Red River supplies that spring. The American authorities for the first time enforced the rule that all vehicles or vessels carrying bonded goods should give the necessary bonds, and as neither the Red River cart brigades nor the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer *International* had complied with the law, Mr. Hill's boat for several months enjoyed a monopoly of the carrying trade to Fort Garry.

This was a death-blow to the freighting of goods over the plains by means of carts, and for the time being was a great

hardship to the merchants of Manitoba, as Mr. Hill charged the full rate of 16 shillings sterling per 100 lbs. from St. Paul to Winnipeg, payable in cash; whereas the freight by carts was paid in half cash, half goods, which greatly reduced the actual cost of carriage.

But the Hudson's Bay Company did not allow the grass to grow under their feet, for they transferred the *International* to their St. Paul agent, Mr. N. W. Kittson, who, being an American citizen, had her bonded without delay. Up to this time the *International* had been employed in carrying Hudson's Bay Company goods only, but Mr. Kittson now undertook the carrying of general freight and passengers, and Mr. Hill found himself opposed by a powerful competitor. Not only this, but the merchants of Manitoba gave the *International* the preference, and the result was that an amalgamation of the two steamboat companies took place under the management of Mr. Kittson. Thus commenced a traffic which in a year or two reached very large proportions, and led the way to enterprises of vast extent in the carrying trade.

In September, 1871, the first stage arrived from Abercrombie, the proprietors, Messrs. Blakely & Carpenter, having contracted with the Dominion Government to carry a tri-weekly mail to and from Winnipeg. Thus the stage and the steamboat took the place of the ox-cart, and the first step was taken in the North-West toward a closer communication with the outside world.

On the 20th November, 1871, the telegraph line, *via* Pembina, in connexion with the American system, which had been under course of construction for several months, was completed, and on that day the following despatch was sent over the wires by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald:—

"FORT GARRY, November 20th, 1871.

"Right Honorable Lord Lisgar,

"Governor-General of Canada.

"The first telegraphic message from the heart of the continent may appropriately convey, on the part of our people, an expression of devout thankfulness to Almighty God for the close of our isolation from the rest of the world. This message announces that close, as its receipt by Your Excellency will attest it. The voice of Manitoba collected this morning on the banks of the Assiniboine will be heard in a few hours on the banks of the Ottawa, and we may hope before the day closes that the words of Your Excellency's reply, spoken at the capital of the Dominion, will be listened to at Fort Garry. We may now count in hours the work that used to occupy weeks. I congratulate Your Excellency on the facility so afforded in the discharge of your high duties, so far as they concern the Province. I know I can better discharge my own when at any moment I may appeal to Your Lordship for advice and assistance.

"(Signed) ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD."

To the above despatch, the following reply was sent by Lord Lisgar:—

"To Lieutenant-Governor Archibald,

"Winnipeg, Manitoba.

"I received your message with great satisfaction. The completion of the telegraph line to Fort Garry is an auspicious event. It forms a fresh and most important link between the Eastern Provinces and the North-West, and is a happy augury for the future, inasmuch as it gives proof of the energy with which the union, wisely effected, of Her Majesty's North American possessions, enables progress and civilization to be

advanced in different and far distant portions of the Dominion. I congratulate the inhabitants of Manitoba on the event, and join heartily in your thanksgiving.

“(Signed) LISGAR.”

It will thus be seen that rapid progress was being made in the development of enterprises calculated to open up the country to settlement, but while this was going on, there existed a spirit of unrest among the French-speaking settlers, caused by the action of newcomers in squatting upon lands which the half-breeds looked upon as properly belonging to them. There were also a number of hotheads among those arriving in the country, who made use of threatening language towards the French, and when a party of immigrants from Ontario took possession of a tract of land at Rivière aux Islets de Bois, which had been selected by half-breeds for their farms, and named it the Boyne, a collision between the two parties was only avoided by the prompt action of Governor Archibald.

About this time Riel returned to his home on the Red River, and, being warmly welcomed by his friends, was spoken of as a candidate for the House of Commons for the district of Provencher. But being persuaded that his election would be useless, as he would probably be expelled from the House, or shot by some one in a spirit of revenge, he abandoned the idea. The return of Riel to his home, however, served to fan the flame of discontent among his people, and a number of meetings were held by them to discuss the situation. O'Donohue, who was in exile across the boundary line, true to his Fenian instincts, resolved to take advantage of this state of feeling among the French, and, in conjunction with that adventurer, O'Neill, endeavored to organize a raid on Manitoba from United States territory, in the expectation that the French would

join them. Indeed, O'Donohue afterwards declared that he was acting under instructions from the half-breed leaders, for in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, dated St. Paul, 26th February, 1875, he offered to prove, "That the so-called Fenian raid of 1871 was merely a continuation of the insurrection of 1869-70. and that the part he played in it, was simply that of an agent of the people holding a commission, authorized by a resolution of the Council held at Rivière Salle, in September, 1870, at which Louis Riel presided. The commission," he also stated, "was signed by the officers of the Provisional Government of the French party."

It must be remembered, however, that O'Donohue was at the time a disappointed man, on unfriendly terms with Riel, and notwithstanding a strong feeling in the minds of many that the French were ready at a moment's warning to join the small party of invaders, the testimony of Bishop Taché and Governor Archibald exonerated Riel altogether from the charge of being implicated in the Fenian raid.

The attempt on the part of O'Donohue and O'Neill proved to be a miserable fizzle. At about half-past seven in the morning of the 5th October, they, with about thirty-five followers, appeared at the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Pembina, and took possession of it, but almost immediately afterwards, a squad of United States troops, under Colonel Wheaton arrived and captured the Fenian leaders and a number of their men, O'Donohue escaping, only to be taken prisoner later on.

The man who really put an end to the raid before any harm could be done was U. S. Consul J. W. Taylor, a man who from the very moment he set foot in the country, until he died, proved himself a true friend of the people of the Canadian



North-West. It was he who gave the warning, and planned the capture of the Fenian leaders, yet to Captain Wheaton is due the prompt carrying out, and successful accomplishment of the programme. On Oct. 5th, Consul Taylor received the following despatch :—

HEADQUARTERS, FORT PEMBINA,

Oct. 5th, 1871.

*J. W. Taylor, U. S. Consul, Winnipeg.*

SIR—I have captured, and now hold, “General” J. O’Neill, “General” Thomas Curley, and “Colonel” J. J. Donnelly. I think further anxiety regarding a Fenian invasion of Manitoba unnecessary.

I have, etc.,

LLOYD WHEATON,

Capt. 20th Infantry.

Both Consul Taylor and Captain Wheaton were afterwards publicly thanked for their action on this occasion.

O’Donohue was captured about five miles from Pembina, on the British side, by two French half-breeds, who tied him, and delivered him to Mr. Bradley, the Canadian customs’ officer at the boundary. Mr. Bradley, strange to say, instead of delivering his prisoner to the Canadian authorities, took him across the line into United States territory, and handed him over to the American officials. What Mr. Bradley meant by this action no one could tell, but it was very generally felt throughout the Province, that an egregious blunder had been committed. Thus ended the Fenian raid.

In the meantime, there was a good deal of excitement in the Province, owing largely to the dread that the French would join the Fenians, the result of which would undoubtedly have been a bloody struggle. Governor Archibald issued a

proclamation, calling upon all loving subjects, irrespective of race or religion, or of past local differences, to rally round the flag of their common country. The proclamation was nobly responded to, several hundred men enrolling themselves to resist the Fenian attack, and these, under command of Major Irvine, marched to the frontier. The French at first held back, and it was not till the 8th October that Governor Archibald was informed that some two hundred half-breeds had assembled at St. Boniface to offer their services. His Honor went at once to see them, and finding Riel and Lepine at their head, welcomed the evidence of their loyalty by shaking hands with them, and accepting their services. This act on the part of Governor Archibald brought down upon his head the denunciation of a large number of people in the Province, and caused him ever afterwards to be unpopular with a certain class. But Governor Archibald acted for the best interests of the country, and it was well-known to him that a mere spark at that time was only needed to send the whole French population into open revolt—a fact which was not so well understood by his critics. During the excitement, Mr. Gilbert McMicken, the newly appointed Dominion Lands agent, arrived in the Province, and as he had considerable experience in Fenian invasions in other parts of Canada, his services were also called in.

The raid, however, as we have shown, failed at the very outset, and the volunteers who marched to the front, were not called upon to fire a single shot. O'Neill, O'Donohue, and others, were tried at Pembina, but released immediately afterwards, the evidence against them being, it was said, insufficient to convict them of a breach of the neutrality laws. They were, in fact, liberated as the quickest way to get over the whole difficulty.

The news of the disturbance, on reaching Canada, caused some excitement, especially as exaggerated accounts were sent to the press, and the result was that on the 12th October, an Order-in-Council was passed at Ottawa for the immediate despatch of 200 men to reinforce the volunteer companies in Manitoba, a number of the men of the original expedition having been recalled during the summer.

Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne Smith, Deputy Adjutant-General of Militia, was ordered to proceed to Manitoba by way of Pembina to organize the local militia of the Province, and to meet the expedition at the North-West Angle of the Lake of Woods. The composition of the fresh volunteer force was formed on the same basis as the one of the previous year, 100 men being taken from Ontario, and the same number from Quebec, and very little delay occurred in enrolling the requisite number.

On the 21st October the expedition embarked at Collingwood on board the *Chicora*, under command of Captain Thomas Scott, and the supplies necessary for the force left the same day on board the steamer *Manitoba*. On the 24th the two steamers arrived at Thunder Bay, and the expedition started almost at once on the overland journey to Fort Garry. The route pursued was the same as the one taken by the expedition under Colonel Wolseley, only the road from Thunder Bay to Shebandowan being finished, that part of the journey was accomplished in about a day and a half, instead of the six weeks, which it took the first expedition to traverse the same distance. After passing Shebandowan the real difficulties commenced, and as the winter set in earlier than usual, the troops suffered much from cold and the accumulation of ice on the rivers. When the expedition arrived within twelve miles

of the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods on 12th November, the ice became so solid that the boats had to be placed in winter quarters, and the men marched the rest of the distance to Fort Garry. Colonel Smith joined the force at the mouth of the Rainy River, and took command, but the difficulties of the journey were overcome while Captain Scott had charge of the expedition, and the greatest credit is due to him for the successful accomplishment of the enterprise. The whole journey from Collingwood to the Red River was made in twenty-eight days, without the loss of a man or a serious accident of any kind, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and on the 18th November the volunteers marched into Fort Garry.

In connection with this subject it is a strange fact that the important and valuable services rendered by Captain Scott on this occasion were never properly recognized by the authorities. Other officers received decorations for services which, while undoubtedly worthy of recognition, were not one whit more so than those performed by the gallant officer who so successfully brought through the second expedition to Red River. The omission was a great injustice done to a brave soldier, a gallant gentleman, and an able commander.

Hardly had the second expedition arrived in the country than a fresh cause for excitement among the French presented itself. The murder of Scott was being made use of by the politicians of Ontario as a party cry, and the result was the defeat of the Sandfield Macdonald Government in that province, and a strong effort to carry a vote of censure against the Dominion Government for not bringing the murderers to justice. Mr. Blake, who succeeded Hon. Sandfield Macdonald as premier in Ontario, had an appropriation of \$5,000 voted

in supply as a reward for the arrest of those chiefly concerned in the killing of Scott. The County of Middlesex also offered a reward, and it was expected that the result would be an attempt to arrest Riel and Lepine, who were then residing in Manitoba. It was ill-advised and un-called for on the part of Mr. Blake's administration to take such action at that time, just as the Province of Manitoba was beginning to enjoy the benefits of peace.

As soon as it became known that rewards were offered for the apprehension of Riel and Lepine, the French became greatly excited, and meetings were held among them, advocating resistance should any attempt be made at an arrest. Some idea of the state of feeling prevailing may be learned from the following extract, taken from a letter addressed by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald to Sir George E. Cartier, on the 24th February, 1872:—"I have had a rather anxious time since the intelligence arrived of the rewards offered by the Middlesex County Council, and the Legislature of Ontario. Intense excitement prevailed for a while among the French Half-Breeds. On the point of blotting out the past, there is little or no division among them. Even those of them who did not side with Riel, and the 'Men of the Movement,' as they are called here, look upon the question of punishment of the offenders as one of race, and would consider an attempt of the kind on any of these people as an attack upon the whole. I had learned, privately, through the instrumentality of the police, that immediately after the arrival of the telegraphic news, meetings were held in each French parish on the subject, and that there was but one feeling among the people on the subject. They determined that the parties to whom the rewards were directed should remain in the country, and that



the people should protect them by an armed force against any attempt to arrest them. I fear very much, that had the attempt been made, it would have led to serious bloodshed. Happily, the feelings of the great body of the English people of this country have so changed that it is difficult to find a Magistrate who does not hesitate to issue warrants which may lead to fatal consequences; and several Justices, who were themselves sufferers at the time of the troubles, and who, a year ago, were urging all kinds of vindictive proceedings, have refused to issue warrants now. I am not aware whether any warrant has actually been issued up to this moment. The difficulty is not among the people of the country, but among the small band of lawless men, idlers and roughs, who infest the taverns of Winnipeg. These men have no influence, except for mischief, but they might light a flame it would be hard to extinguish. For a few days, I felt the danger was extreme. The only possible way to avoid a serious outbreak was to get rid of the two men whose presence in the country formed the pretext for the action of the roughs at Winnipeg."

The action of the Ontario Government, in offering a reward for the arrest of the leaders of the rebellion, was not altogether unexpected, owing to the fact that the question had been used as a political cry at the elections. The Dominion Government, therefore, being aware of the trouble likely to ensue, should Riel and Lepine be apprehended, took steps to induce the men to leave the country. A sum of money (\$1,600), was given to each, and, at the solicitation of Bishop Taché, they departed to the United States, where they lived for some time, until the bitter feeling against them had somewhat subsided. When Riel and Lepine had left the country, the Province lapsed once more into a state of quietude.

While these events were happening, the election of members for the Dominion House of Commons took place, resulting in the return of Mr. Donald A. Smith for Selkirk, Mr. Pierre De-lorme for Provencher, Dr. Schultz for Lisgar, and, in the District of Marquette, a tie between Mr. Angus McKay and Dr. Lynch.

In December, 1871, Mr. John Sutherland and Hon. M. A. Girard were appointed Senators, and soon afterwards the latter withdrew from the Provincial Government, and the Hon. Joseph Royal entered the Cabinet in his place. Mr. Royal accepted the portfolio of Provincial Secretary, and Hon. Thomas Howard became Treasurer.

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Hon. Adams G. Archibald.





## CHAPTER VI.

### THE SURVEYS, LAND REGULATIONS, AND IMMIGRATION.

IN a previous chapter we have shewn how the surveys, ordered in 1869, and attempted to be carried out under the direction of Lieut.-Col. Dennis, were opposed by the people of Assiniboia, and finally abandoned on the outbreak of the Riel Insurrection. After the restoration of peace in the country, and the arrival of a large number of immigrants from the older provinces of the Dominion and Great Britain, it became apparent that a sub-division of the lands, and the establishment of laws dealing with them, were matters requiring immediate attention. The Hudson's Bay Company's title to lands within what was known as the settlement belt, having been extinguished, so far as further transfers of lands were concerned, no recognized legal method of acquiring lands, or registering title to the same, existed, and much confusion and misunderstanding resulted. The newly-arrived immigrants wished to secure farms, and sought in vain some public official who could furnish information on the subject. The Half-Breeds and old settlers, regarding the new-comers with a certain degree of suspicion, were decidedly opposed to their squatting on the choicest portions of land in the immediate vicinity of their settlement, deeming that they themselves were best entitled to priority of selection. They had been promised an early confirmation of their titles to the lands



which they had occupied in fee simple before the transfer to Canada, and participation in the distribution of 1,400,000 acres allotted to the children of Half-Breeds by the Dominion Government. Many of the discharged volunteers who had determined to remain in the country were also desirous of locating their free grants of one hundred and sixty acres. The population was land hungry, and the staking out of claims became a popular mania. An Order-in-Council, dated at Ottawa on May 31st, notified the people of Manitoba that, as the survey could not be effected "in time to facilitate settlement on the lands by the numerous parties now in, and those about emigrating to, that Province, and it was deemed expedient temporarily to countenance settlements being made in advance of such survey," that parties found in possession of lands at the time of the survey, having previously settled thereon and improved the same, would be protected, and their rights to the homestead or pre-emption confirmed, on their carrying out the provisions and regulations of the land laws. This Order-in-Council seemed to have been construed to mean that any one who staked out a claim had a right to hold it against all comers, and soon the columns of *The Manitoban*, Winnipeg's principal newspaper, were filled with notices similar to those here produced :

#### NOTICE.

I hereby notify the public that I have taken a claim of 160 acres, 10 miles west of the Scotch Settlement, and commonly know as the Bluffs.

COLIN INKSTAR.

June 24, 1871.

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#### NOTICE OF CLAIM.

I hereby give notice that, by virtue of a Power of Attorney, directed to me by John Miller, late of the 2nd or Quebec Rifles, I have located, marked, and staked, a block of land—one hundred and sixty acres, or half a mile square in extent—being a free and unconditional grant by the

Government of Canada to the said John Miller, situated north of the Assiniboine River, immediately northward of the two-mile limit, and northward of the land occupied by McKenzie, McKay, Tait, and others, the and running from James McKay's "Deer Lodge."

MOLINEUX ST. JOHN.

June 19, 1871.

#### NOTICE.

*To all whom it may concern :*

I hereby give notice that I have taken off the following lot as my share in the Half-Breed grant of 1,400,000 acres, to wit : Starting from the north corner of my present lot ; the lot I have taken off runs a half a mile northward ; thence half a mile west ; thence half a mile south ; thence half a mile east.

ALEXANDER GUNN,

July 3, 1871.

Little Britain.

Meanwhile the Government had not been idle. On the 1st of March, 1871, a report was brought down in the Dominion House, which embodied a system of surveys and a plan of dealing with the public lands in Manitoba, including the distribution of 1,400,000 to the Half-Breeds, and on April 12th, following, the House having approved the report, the sum of \$100,000 was voted for surveys. A staff of surveyors was organized under the directorship of Mr. Lindsay Russell, and early in July thirteen surveying parties took the field. Of these, six were apportioned to the settled parts of the Province, with instructions to facilitate as much as possible the endeavor of squatters to comply with the regulations, and the remaining seven were allotted to the unsettled regions. The following synopsis of the system of survey adopted for Manitoba, and which has been followed throughout the North-West, is considered worthy a place here, as it was introduced in Canada at that time, and has been found admirably suited to the requirements of the country. We quote the report :

"1. The system of survey shall be rectangular.

"2. The Townships shall consist of 36 sections of one mile

square each; and road allowances, in all cases one chain width, shall be set out and allowed between all Townships and Sections. Sections shall be numbered thus:

31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

“3. The International boundary shall form the base for Townships 1 and 2.

“4. The East and West lines, between Townships 4 and 5, 8 and 9, 12 and 13, and 16 and 17, shall be the base lines or standard parallels in the system.

“5. The Meridian line run in the autumn of 1869 for some 90 miles north from the International boundary, and known as the ‘Winnipeg Meridian,’ shall be adopted and continued as the Meridian from which the ranges of Townships shall number east and west in the Province.

“6. The ‘jog’ resulting from convergence of Meridians shall be allowed and set out on the following lines, that is to say:—

“For Townships.	See line between Townships.
1, 2, 3 and 4.	2 and 3.
5, 6, 7 “ 8.	6 “ 7.
9, 10, 11 “ 12.	10 “ 11.
13, 14, 15 “ 16.	14 “ 15.

“7. In the survey of any and every township, the deficiency or surplus, as the case may be, resulting from convergence of meridians, shall be set out and allowed in the quarter sections on the west boundary—the area of which shall in the survey be returned accordingly at their actual contents.”

This system met with some opposition, in the way of protests from the Half-Breeds and old residents, who did not appreciate its advantages, and desired to maintain the method so long in vogue with them, of laying out the farms in long narrow strips fronting on the shore of some lake or river, and running back for two miles. The Red River Settlement had been laid out in that way, and the map showing the odd-shaped holdings was legalized by the Legislature of Manitoba, so that the owners were not disturbed by the innovations of modern land surveying. The same system of narrow river fronts was adopted by the Half-Breeds who emigrated from Manitoba to Prince Albert, Edmonton, and other points on the Saskatchewan in advance of the surveyors, and gave rise to serious trouble in after years, as we will explain in a future chapter.

The block survey (*i.e.*, the subdivision of the Province of Manitoba into townships,) was completed in 1873, and the surveys were extended to the North-West Territories in that year, as far west as Arrow River, and north of the Assiniboine River to the Riding Mountains, Lake Dauphin and Lake Manitoba, embracing an area of about seven thousand square miles.

The land regulations, as originally framed, were very liberal, and calculated to induce immigrants to settle in the country. Any British subject, the head of a family, or of the age of twenty-one years, being entitled to take up one quarter

section, or 160 acres, as a homestead, and one-quarter section as a pre-emption. The law required the homesteader to pay a fee of \$10 at the time of making his application: this was all that he had to pay for it, cultivation and five years' residence entitling him to a patent. The period of residence was afterwards reduced to three years, and under the amendment a man might absent himself from his home for six months in every twelve. The pre-emption was purchasable at one dollar per acre, without conditions of residence and improvement. These regulations were modified and altered from time to time, but only in the interests of *bona fide* settlers: the principles established in 1871 being adhered to, and the North-West to-day has many thousands of fertile acres ready for those who choose to acquire them as homesteads. Certain lands were exempted from homesteadings and pre-emption. These were the lands allotted to the Hudson's Bay Company, under the terms of the transfer of their rights to Canada: lands reserved for schools: wooded lands, set apart to preserve to the settlers a permanent supply of fuel and building timber: lands set apart as the sites of towns or villages, and mineral and quarry lands. Provision was also made for the granting of a land subsidy to the contemplated Inter-Oceanic Railway, a width of three full townships on each side of the line of such railway being made, subject to withdrawal from homesteading or sale. The scheme of distribution of the Half-Breed lands outlined in the report, provided that every Half-Breed resident in the Province of Manitoba at the time of the transfer thereof to Canada, and every child of every such Half-Breed resident, should be entitled to participate in the distribution. That the most liberal construction should be put on the word *resident*. That no conditions



of settlement should be imposed on the grants made to Half-Breeds, or restrictions as to their powers of dealing with the lands when granted, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba was empowered to designate the townships, or parts of townships, in which the allotments to Half-Breeds should be made. It was calculated that the available lands of the Province would amount to 8,300,960 acres, equal to 360 townships of 23,040 acres each, of which it would require 60 to give 1,400,000. The following mode of allotting the lands was suggested :—

*a.* If not already obtained, an accurate census shall be taken to determine the number of persons who may be entitled to participate.

*b.* Upon such census, the number of acres to which each may be entitled shall be ascertained.

*c.* The number and area of individual grants having been ascertained, the land selected by the Lieutenant-Governor for the purpose shall be divided up accordingly.

*d.* Tickets shall be prepared, say on some such form as the following; each to contain thereon a description of the lands intended to satisfy the particular claim for which it may happen to be drawn.

**CLAIM NO. 10.**

(Allotment of 1,400,000 acres, Manitoba).

DESCRIPTION OF LANDS :

S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  Sec. 15, Tp. 5, 3rd R.W.

160 acres.

(Lt.-Governor's initials) A.G.A.

A book of record shall be prepared also, in which the names and particulars of all admitted claims shall be entered and consecutively numbered.

e. Everything being prepared, the tickets may be put into a box, and the Lieutenant-Governor shall draw them at random. As drawn, they shall be numbered and initialled by the Lieutenant-Governor, in regular consecutive order, and the land described on a ticket of a certain number shall go in satisfaction of the claim of corresponding number in the Register of Claims, and be entered accordingly.

Claimants of the age of eighteen and over were to receive their patents without unnecessary delay, and minors on arriving at that age. Recorded claims, when the claimant died before being entitled by arriving at the age of eighteen to receive a patent, should be regarded as real estate, and should descend to the legal survivors of the deceased, according to the laws regarding succession to real estate in force in the Province of Manitoba. There was to be no distinction with regard to sex in making the allotment. This portion of the land regulations, which was merely the detail of applying the provisions of the Manitoba Act, was bitterly opposed by certain demagogues and their following, who, animated by a spirit of insensate bigotry, and blind to the equal rights principles, which they claimed as particularly their own, refused to recognize the claims of the Half-Breeds to citizenship, and an equal share in the public domain with their co-citizens, and clamored to revenge on an entire people the deplorable acts committed by a few individuals of their race. Fortunately for the young Dominion, these misguided zealots were powerless to create or mould public opinion, and the generous provision made for the Half-Breeds and their children was not only carried out in its original entirety, but as the Government gained knowledge in administering the law, its scope was gradually increased, and the allotment of lands was

made to include all the Half-Breeds resident in the North-West Territories at the time of the transfer, as well as those of Manitoba. The mode of distribution was considerably changed from that described above, the alterations being made at the request of the participants, who desired to have their lands granted *en bloc*, so that the residents of each parish should not be separated from their old friends and neighbors when they came into possession of their new holdings. Instead of drawing their claims by lot, the minor members of each family, and each parish, were granted patents for two hundred and forty acres of lands, contiguous to each other, while the heads of families were given scrip of the face value of one hundred and sixty acres, which could be located on any quarter section of Dominion land, open for sale or settlement. The issuing of the scrip gave rise to a vast amount of speculation, as it was transferable, and was bought from the original owners for trifling sums, ranging from \$10 upwards. The cause of this seeming recklessness on the part of the Half-Breeds is easily explained. Their habits of life had been greatly disturbed by the troubles of the two preceding years. Their usual occupations, trading, buffalo-hunting, freighting and farming, had been interrupted during that period of uncertainty and excitement, and when they came to resume them they found that a new era had set in, sweeping from its path all their old-time methods of life, and leaving them helpless by the way-side. Trading was out of the question to those who had neither goods nor money, nor credit to procure them, for the system, long in vogue with the Hudson's Bay Company and other merchants of Winnipeg, of giving almost unlimited credit to one and all who took ventures to the great plains of the west, was now extended only to a favored few ;

the buffalo had been driven to the extreme west, and were getting scarcer; freighting, which formerly gave employment to a large number of men with their horses, oxen and carts, was now done by steamers, flat boats and barges, on the Red River during the season of navigation, and in the winter by improved waggons, "prairie schooners," which replaced the "cayuse" and ox-cart: as for farming, it had always been carried on in a desultory way by the native population, who regarded it as of secondary importance compared with the more congenial tasks which we have enumerated, and few depended on agriculture, *per se*, as a means of livelihood. So the Half-Breeds found themselves in evil case, and the temptation of a few dollars in ready cash easily induced them to part with their newly acquired scrips. The discharged volunteers also were granted scrip for one hundred and sixty acres, free from conditions of improvement or settlement, and many hastened to dispose of them to speculators. Some of the wealthiest men of Winnipeg can trace their first start in life to successful trading in Half-Breed and volunteer scrip.

The publication of the land regulations was a cause of satisfaction to the great majority of the people, but a certain few took advantage of the fact that there were no officials on the ground who possessed authority to administer the law, and set their minds to work to circumvent the regulations by ignoring their existence and setting up bogus claims, not only to the lands surrounding Winnipeg, but to portions of the town itself. The Hudson's Bay Company's reserve near Fort Garry was the special object of these land-grabbers' cupidity, and it was speedily dotted with stakes and notice boards proclaiming ownership, and warning trespassers and all concerned of the dire consequences that awaited any infringement of the

proprietor's (?) rights. This state of affairs was terminated by the prompt and determined action of Mr. Gilbert McMicken, Agent of Dominion Lands, who, immediately upon his arrival, in October, 1871, published the following notice in the newspapers, and followed it up by enforcing the powers confided to him in a way that brought the "free selectors" to their senses, and restored order and confidence in the community :—

### NOTICE.

The undersigned gives notice that he has been appointed Agent for the Dominion Lands in Manitoba, and will assume his duties as soon as convenient office-accommodation can be procured. In the meantime, he wishes the people of Manitoba to understand that in the discharge of such duties, so far as devolves upon him, he will carry out the requirements, terms, and provisions of the Manitoba Act, as it affects the public lands, in spirit and to the letter—impartial justice being extended to all.

Winnipeg, 9th Oct., 1871.

G. McMICKEN.

On April 26th, 1871, the first batch of immigrants arrived in Winnipeg. They left their homes in Ontario four weeks previously, travelling by rail to St. Cloud, Minnesota, from thence by waggons to Fort Abercrombie, on the Red River, and thence, by flat boat to Winnipeg. The party consisted of eight men, and they came to Manitoba with the intention of taking up homesteads. At Abercrombie they bought lumber and built a flat boat in advance of the opening of navigation, and, having victualled their craft, waited impatiently for the breaking up of the ice. Immediately that open water appeared, they launched their scow and floated down stream with the running ice, having difficulty with the jams which were



encountered from time to time, and often having to cut a channel with their axes. They camped on the river bank every night, sometimes in a snow bank, sometimes in wet and mud, often soaked with rain or half frozen by the sharp north wind. As to the fare *en route*, it was excellent. Besides what they had provided, they caught fish and shot ducks and prairie chickens, which they saw in great numbers. The trip cost them about \$60 each, but on their arrival at Winnipeg they sold their flat boat, which measured 18 ft. x 6 ft. x 2ft., at the rate of \$70 per thousand, the then prevailing price of lumber.\*

We give the particulars of their trip to show the difficulties of travel in those days, and to contrast them with the comparative luxury enjoyed by the immigrant of to-day, in a Canadian Pacific colonist coach, making the journey in as many hours as it then took days to accomplish. With the opening of navigation, a steady stream of immigrants began to pour into the new Province, by steamer, flatboat and waggon. Many drove in their own farm waggons all the way from their eastern homes, but the majority came by rail and boat, bringing their live stock, farming implements, household effects and lumber for the prairie "shack" with them. Soon the limited accommodation of the Winnipeg hotels and boarding houses was taxed to overflowing, and the prairie became dotted with the tents of the newcomers, a canvas town appearing to spring up like magic, and intermixed were modern structures, flimsy in character and decidedly *bizarre* in architectural design, but affording shelter withal, knocked up in marvellously quick time. In August, the rush had become so great that it was found necessary to provide quarters for a

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\*The names of the party were, Roderick McDonald and Alexander Robertson, Greenock, Bruce Co.; John Johnston, Winchester; — Dundas, Ottawa; and Robert Clark, John McKinnon, William Gerrond and Thomas Savage, Seaforth.

few of the immigrants, who were not so well equipped as the majority, and an immigrant shed was opened in a building at the rear of Bannatyne and Begg's store, in which several families were domesticated, while the husbands and fathers were away land hunting. The advance guard of immigrants, coming by way of the United States, experienced considerable delay and annoyance, as well as expense, from the then existing customs regulations. This question was presented at the Immigration Conference held at Ottawa, on Sept. 18th, 1871, by Hon. Henry J. Clarke, Attorney-General of Manitoba, and, through his representations, supported by the exertions of Hon. J. W. Taylor, United States Consul at Winnipeg, the United States Government was induced to make such relaxations of the bonding regulations as greatly facilitated the free transit of settlers' stock and effects between points in Eastern Canada and Manitoba.

In the summer of 1871, a party of young men left Winnipeg for Edmonton, then an isolated Hudson's Bay Post on the North Saskatchewan, attracted to that distant quarter of the North-West by the reports of the rich placer gold-diggings which were known to exist along the river. Settlement was gradually extending westward, and by midsummer of 1872, considerable progress had been made in the Portage la Prairie district, and in south-western Manitoba. In June, 1873, a delegation of Menonites visited the Province to inform themselves of its resources, and the advantages it afforded to their brethren in Russia, who were anxious to secure homes in some desirable agricultural country where they would be exempted from military service, such service being contrary to their religious convictions. They were in charge of Mr. William Hespeler, Commissioner of Russian Emigration, and Mr. Jacob

T. Shantz, a Russian farmer, who had already visited Manitoba, and was favorably impressed with the fertility of the soil and its natural capabilities, which were, as well as political institutions, exactly suited to the Menonites. The visit was fruitful of good results to the North-West, for shortly afterwards some thousands of Menonites arrived in Manitoba, and established settlements which are at the present day among the richest and most prosperous in the Province. In closing this chapter we must refer to the mistaken policy of the Government of Canada in its distribution of Half-Breed lands. The granting of scrip in lieu of an actual land grant was a curse to the Province of Manitoba, an evil from the effect of which she is still suffering, and which it will take many years to wipe out. The Half-Breed reserves, too, were located in the heart of the Province, and as these and the scrip were bought up by speculators in the early days, we find to-day the choicest lands of the Province lying idle and unproductive: for the first comers, unable to obtain homesteads near Winnipeg, went farther west, and thus the tide of immigration was diverted from Manitoba, and all efforts to stem it has been in vain. Land owners in the first place demanded unreasonable prices for their easily-acquired estates and when experience had taught them the impracticability of selling at a high figure to men who could obtain free grants by going a few miles farther west, they offered their lands at moderate prices, but the extension of the railways in various directions, affording facilities for access and transport of produce, frustrated their efforts and rendered their accumulations of lands a millstone about their necks.



## CHAPTER VII.

### THE CLARKE AND GIRARD GOVERNMENTS.

WE have reviewed the work accomplished by the Legislature of Manitoba at its first session, in passing laws for the government of the young Province, and we will now endeavor to show the difficulties that were encountered by the Lieutenant-Governor and his advisers, in their efforts to apply the provisions of the statutes, and the administration of affairs generally. The jealousies and hatreds engendered during the Riel Rebellion were still strong and fresh in the memories of many of the people, and every advance towards conciliation was thwarted by turbulent spirits in the community, who seized upon every passing incident, no matter how trivial, to stir up strife and bitter feeling. These individuals, many of whom smarted under the sting of disappointed ambition, debarred from participation in the debates in the Legislature, aired their rhetoric at mass meetings called by indignant citizens to protest against Government outrages (as every act of the Administration was invariably called in the notices announcing these assemblies). At these meetings the agitators boiled over with indignation, and counselled those present to commit every outrage that malice could prompt or cowardice suggest. Burning in effigy, hooting and threatening members of the Executive and other public functionaries on the streets, violent assaults on, and even murder of, peaceable Half-

Breeds, were some of the "constitutional" methods of reform adopted by these zealous advocates of equal rights, law, and order, the securing and maintaining of which they declared to be the sole objects of their never-ceasing efforts.

At the close of the first year of Governor Archibald's administration, he and his cabinet had made good progress in the herculean task which they had set themselves to accomplish. They had restored comparative peace and order in a community where so lately law had been set at defiance, and the doctrine of might over right had prevailed. The administration of justice was secured by the establishment of courts and an efficient police force, a system of education established, important public works initiated, the liquor traffic was brought under control, Indian teachers had been arranged for, Immigration had received particular attention, and many other matters tending towards the progress and prosperity of the country had been advanced a step in the right direction. They had succeeded in laying a foundation, solid and substantial, upon which the future framework of social and political institutions might be permanently erected, and though in some degree their work may seem crude, we must consider the unpropitious elements that surrounded them, and the extremely difficult character of their undertaking. Their equipment for the task imposed upon them was incomplete, for the Dominion Government, either through negligence or want of a just appreciation of the requirements of the country, had failed to supplement the Manitoba Act by legislation or regulations which would render its provisions effective, and had not even appointed officers to administer the functions of Government which were essentially within the province of the Dominion. Thus, the land department, the customs, the post office,



immigration, the surveys, the timber and hay regulations, the Half-Breed grant, and many other minor matters, were allowed to drag from day to day, causing uneasiness and discontent among all classes of the people. The Manitoba Act became the shibboleth of the pot-house politician; it was quoted and construed to suit the argument or contention at hand on every occasion; its clauses were interpreted to suit the inclination of every brawler, till the very mention of it in a public place was a sequel for hasty departure to every sensible man within hearing. But where the Federal Government failed in its duty to Manitoba, the Provincial Government was expected to step in and arrogate to itself powers that were clearly beyond its scope, and when, in desperation, or in vain hope of appeasing the malcontents, it attempted to meddle in matters properly the affair of the Dominion, it was snubbed by Ottawa and denounced by its constituents. Governor Archibald and Attorney-General Clarke were the scapegoats upon whom all the sins of Ottawa, in addition to the more venial faults of the Provincial Legislature, were laid. They, with the rest of the local cabinet, formed a buffer between the Ottawa administration and the warring factions of Manitoba, and in the course of the struggle received an infinity of hard knocks and but scanty recognition of their good and faithful services.

After his visit to Manitoba, in 1871, Mr. Charles A. Dana, editor of the *New York Sun*, wrote the following tribute to Governor Archibald and Mr. Clarke:—

“The Dominion Government were no less judicious in selecting the authorities of the new Province than in framing its charter. For Lieutenant-Governor, they chose Mr. A. G. Archibald, of Nova Scotia, a man of great dignity, experience, and judgment; and if any remains of disaffection had existed,

he has long since extinguished them by his discreet, conciliatory measures. Indeed, the only disaffection that can now be found in the Province is among the ultra loyalists, and especially the discharged Canadian volunteers, who complain that the Governor has surrendered himself too much to the Catholic Half-Breed party, and that the whole policy of his administration is in their interest. The same complaint is made against Mr. H. J. Clarke, the Attorney-General. In fact, he is the chief object of Canadian animosity in Manitoba, and a most bitter party spirit is displayed against him. But it is not alleged that the Lieutenant-Governor and the Attorney-General have gone beyond the bounds of their authority, or have either said or done anything which could be construed into disloyalty towards British power. The feeling against them seems to be unsubstantial excitement, rather than a well-grounded opposition.”\*

After the close of the session of 1871, the first matter of general importance to Manitoba was the Immigration Conference held at Ottawa, on Sept. 18th of the same year, at which Attorney-General Clarke represented the Province. His report of the work done, and the action foreshadowed by the Conference, is lengthy, and contains much valuable information. He urged the claims of the Province and the North-West on the Ottawa Government as being superior to those of all the other provinces, for the reason that Manitoba had been left without any Crown Lands, and that her lands and those of the North-West were to be heavily drawn upon for the

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\*At the close of the first Session of the Legislature the following resolution was moved, seconded (by the leader of the Opposition) and carried unanimously :—“ That the best thanks of this House are justly due to the Honorable Attorney-General Clarke, for the valuable services rendered by him to this Province, and for his unceasing labors during this first Session of our Parliament; and also to Mr. Speaker Royal, who has proved himself to be impartial and most able in the performance of his duties as Speaker.

construction of a national transcontinental railway, taking into the older provinces, who would retain control of their own Crown Lands, the wealth of the great North-West; because, whilst some of the older provinces had not set apart one shilling for immigration, the little Province of Manitoba, without any public lands of her own, had voted, in the first year of her existence, the very liberal sum of \$20,000, for the building of bridges and highways, which were in fact a system of colonization roads, opening a route through the Province to the North-West, and \$2,000 for the relief of poor and suffering immigrants. He also urged the speedy completion of the Dawson road, and the building of bridges over the Red and Assiniboine Rivers to connect with it.

On his return from Ottawa, Mr. Clarke was called upon, in his official capacity, to prosecute the Fenian prisoners, captured during the recent raid. These were Oiseau L'Etendre, Andre Jerome St. Matte and Isadore Villeneuve, indicted for feloniously and unlawfully levying war against Her Majesty the Queen. The trials resulted in the conviction of L'Etendre and the acquittal of the other two. L'Etendre was sentenced by the presiding judge (Johnson) to be hanged, but the sentence was afterwards commuted to a term of imprisonment.

Immediately after the adjournment of the court, *Le Métis*, the organ of the French-Canadian party, and conducted by Mr. Joseph Royal, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, published a violent attack upon the Attorney-General, in which he was accused of unfairness and partiality in the trials just completed, and Judge Johnson was also assailed, as the following translated extract will show: "L'Etendre is a poor imbecile who, as the Judge himself said in pronouncing the sentence, assuredly did not realize the nature of the trial that he

had undergone, nor of the penalty that was charged against him. This, however, had been established clearly by the defence, but L'Etendre, not being a madman requiring to be tied down, this proof of irresponsibility was set aside by the Judge in a peremptory manner." This attack on the Attorney-General was the beginning of a bitter campaign which *Le Métis* waged against him with the object of destroying his influence with the French Half-Breeds, his loyalty to whose interests had been one of the chief causes of his unpopularity with the self-styled loyal Canadian party. The unenviable position which this gentleman occupied at this particular time cannot be better illustrated than by mentioning that when the Half-Breed Fenians were brought up for preliminary hearing before the magistrate's court, a mob of loyalists were in attendance, one of whom carried a rope with which to hang the Attorney-General if he failed in his duty in obtaining the commitment for trial of the prisoners. Happily for the equanimity of the crown prosecutor during the proceedings, he was not aware of the murderous intentions of the audience.

On December 9th, 1871, Honorable Alfred Boyd, Minister of Public Works, placed his resignation in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, assigning as a reason for his action that he had reason to believe that a feeling prevailed among the English Half-Breed population of the Province, that a representative of their race should have a seat at the Council Board, and have a share in the government of the country at the head of a department. Mr. Boyd's resignation was generally regretted, as he had proved himself a most efficient minister, and had always lived up to his pledges "to carry out to the best of his ability a policy of justice, conciliation and fair play to all."

Mr. John Norquay, destined to become such a prominent figure in the affairs of his native Province, succeeded Mr. Boyd.

The second session of the first Legislature assembled on January 16th, 1872. The session was uneventful, the most exciting topic of debate being the discussion of a resolution, introduced by the Government, deprecating the action of the Ontario Legislature in offering a reward for the apprehension and conviction of the murderers of Thomas Scott. A majority of the House looked upon this action of Ontario as an unwarrantable interference with the affairs of Manitoba. The resolution was carried on a division, 18 for, 5 against, and it was immediately followed by the unanimous passing of the following resolution, introduced by Hon. D. A. Smith, which embodied the sense of the House on this painful subject.

“That whereas during the period intervening between the passing of the Dominion Act and the Temporary Government of Rupert’s Land and the North-West Territories, when the same should be united to Canada, and the date when the union actually took place, very serious troubles occurred in the country now known as the Province of Manitoba; and whereas Her Majesty’s Imperial Government is the only authority competent to deal with this grave question; and whereas, in the interests of peace and good order, it is not only desirable, but requisite, that steps should be taken to settle and set at rest all questions connected with such troubles: *Resolved*, therefore, That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty the Queen, praying that Her Majesty would be pleased to command that this House be made acquainted with the action already taken, or which it may be Her Majesty’s Royal pleasure to take, with the view of satisfying justice and the best interests of this country.”



This resolution contained the very marrow of the Scott case. Manitoba had no existence; in fact, when the offence was committed, Canada's jurisdiction had not been established, Riel's Provisional Government was amenable to Great Britain only, and the Imperial Government was the proper and sole authority to punish or condone the acts committed by or in the name of the Provisional Government.

Ontario's vote of \$5,000 for the conviction of Riel, *et al.*, recalled to the people of Manitoba another \$5,000, voted by the Ontario Legislature for the relief of the Half-Breeds during the famine in Rupert's Land in 1868. Acting in the faith that the \$5,000 voted would be paid, the Hudson's Bay Company advanced the amount to the suffering people, but the Ontario Government never paid the money, and the company were out of pocket that amount in addition to the generous sum which they had voluntarily subscribed.

The Hon. Marc A. Girard, who held the portfolio of the Provincial Treasurer in the Clarke cabinet, was called to the Senate of Canada, and in consequence resigned on April 14th, 1872. As shown in a previous chapter, he was replaced by the Honorable Thomas Howard, who had been Provincial Secretary, and the secretaryship was accepted by Honorable Joseph Royal, who had been Speaker of the Legislature since its organization. Early in 1872 it was rumored that Lieutenant-Governor Archibald was about to resign, and in April his resignation was semi-officially announced, but he remained in office till October, when Honorable Alexander Morris, who was sworn in as Chief Justice on August 14th, was appointed Administrator of the Government, and Mr. Archibald left the Province. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Morris resigned the Chief Justiceship and took office as Lieutenant-Governor.

When it became generally understood that Governor Archibald had resigned, the "equal-rights-law-and-order" party assembled on the main street of Winnipeg one night (April 24th), and burnt an effigy of the Governor with ceremonies appropriate to the solemn occasion. The respectable people of the community, much incensed at this insult to a gentleman whom they esteemed and respected, and considering the act a blot on the fair fame of the Province, immediately prepared the following address, which was presented to the Governor, in English and French, with eighteen hundred names subscribed.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HONORABLE ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, etc., etc.

May it please your Excellency :

We, the subjects of Her Majesty, resident in Manitoba, beg leave most sincerely to offer you, on the occasion of your departure from the Province, our most sincere congratulations on the fair, able and impartial manner in which you have administered the very arduous and onerous duties devolving upon you as Governor of this Province. We beg leave to assure you that on leaving us you carry with you the esteem of all good and loyal men. Your policy, as we view it, has been in the highest degree successful in securing peace and prosperity in the Province, and your statesmanlike action has resulted in bringing about a state of matters which could hardly have been anticipated.

Whilst many of your acts and motions have been misrepresented and condemned for party purposes by a certain section of the press and people of the other Provinces in the Dominion, we, who have had the opportunity of realizing from day to day the result of your policy, and who from experience can compare the present comparatively happy and prosperous state of the country, with the state of confusion it was in when you arrived in our midst, can only assure Your Honor that the Dominion of Canada owes you a deep debt of gratitude for the unceasing labor and untiring care with which you have crowned your policy with success.

Trusting that Your Honor, with Mrs. Archibald, when you return home, will meet your family in good health, and that you will be long spared to be useful in any sphere to which you may be appointed, is the earnest wish of the undersigned.

To show that the misrepresentation and abuse to which Governor Archibald was subjected by his enemies in Manitoba and Eastern Canada, were deprecated by the highest and most impartial authority in the Dominion, we quote the following from the speech of Lord Lisgar, the Governor-General of Canada, at a banquet given to him in Montreal. In speaking of the events following the Rebellion, His Excellency said: "Much praise is due to the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Archibald, for the legal attainments, the unwearied industry, and the fine temper which he brought to bear on the difficulties he had to encounter. He literally encountered the wilderness, but he has cleared the forest and taken out the stumps. Whoever succeeds him, for I hear Mr. Archibald wishes to leave, with views and objects of his own, will have an easy task. He will enter upon the results of another man's intelligent labors, and will not, probably, have more obstacles in his way than are found in the older settled Provinces. To carry on the agricultural simile, he will only have to cultivate the cleared farm on ordinary known principles, and with a proper rotation of crops."

The question of a successor to Governor Archibald was a subject of much discussion and conjecture. Judge Johnson, who, while holding the office of Judge of the General Quarterly Court of Quebec, had been appointed Governor of Manitoba, but the legality of the appointment being made the subject of a motion of censure in the Dominion Parliament—as it was contended that the appointment as Governor was illegal until his Judgeship had been cancelled—his commission was withdrawn. His appointment as Governor would have been popular with the old settlers, as he was well known to them in his capacity of Recorder and Judge, and was highly esteemed for

his courtesy and social good qualities, which he possessed in a high degree. He bade farewell to the Province after the close of the General Court on May 29th, 1872. Several names were mentioned as probable appointees, but the office of Governor of Manitoba appeared to go abegging for some time, the vicissitudes of the position, as illustrated during Mr. Archibald's career, deterring even the most hardened place-hunter from essaying it. It is a well known fact that Chief Justice Morris hesitated a long time before accepting the position.

The Dominion general elections of 1872 were hotly contested in Manitoba. In Selkirk, Hon. Donald A. Smith was opposed by Mr. A. E. Wilson, who, however, received only 62 votes. Marquette returned Mr. Robert Cunningham, editor of *The Manitoban*, defeating Dr. J. S. Lynch and Hon. John Norquay. In Lisgar, Dr. Schultz was re-elected, Mr. Hay opposing him. In Provencher, Sir George E. Cartier, who had been defeated in Montreal East, was returned by acclamation, Attorney-General Clarke and Louis Riel having retired in his favor. Election day in Winnipeg was marked by riot and disorder. Mr. Wilson's supporters, aided by a number of roughs, set out to intimidate those of Mr. Smith, and from the opening of the polls the day was a continuous series of fights and attempts to capture the poll books. At St. Boniface, pistols and axe-handles were freely used on Mr. Smith's friends, though fortunately no serious injuries were inflicted. In the afternoon it was found necessary to call out the militia to defend the poll in Winnipeg, the small police force being powerless to deal with the rioters. Captain De Plainval, chief of police, was severely handled, and seriously wounded in his efforts to preserve the peace, and others of the force were injured more or less severely in the performance of their

duty. The day's outrages culminated in the destruction of the printing offices of *The Manitoban* and *Le Métis*, upon which the mob vented their rage, in vindication of their rights as free-born Britons.

In January, 1873, the *Canada Gazette* announced the appointment of the North-West Council, the first step in extending the functions of Government to the Territories. The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba was delegated to supervise the affairs of the North-West, assisted by a council composed of the following: Hon. M. A. Girard, Hon. Donald A. Smith, Hon. Henry J. Clarke, Hon. Patrice Breland, Hon. Alfred Boyd, Messrs. John Schultz, Joseph Dubuc, Andrew G. B. Bannatyne, William Frazer, Robert Hamilton and William J. Christie.

Early in 1873, the cry of "Better Terms" became a watch-word with Manitobans. It was contended by the press that the subsidy granted to the Province on her admission to confederation was insufficient to carry on the government, and that the time had come for a re-adjustment. On the assembling of the Legislature, the question was brought before the House by Mr. John H. McTavish, member for St. Anne, and his introduction of the subject gave rise to lively debate, the tenor of which denoted a unanimity of opinion that better terms should be demanded. During the course of the debate, the Dominion Government was criticized for its dilatory policy in regard to the administration of the Crown Lands, its neglect of immigration, and the niggardly manner in which it dealt with Manitoba in the items of public works and buildings. It was alleged that the annual subsidy, \$67,000, was "not enough to pay the expenses of running a respectable seaside hotel." The statement, often repeated in the Dominion



House, that the country had cost £300,000, was misleading. It was unfair to charge Manitoba with the cost of the whole North-West, and, as Attorney-General Clarke said in the course of his speech, "if the statement were made in good faith, it proved the ignorance of those who made it, of the whole matter. Let us see what Canada has really secured by her North-West purchase. She has secured complete control of almost half a continent : she has secured the great highway of the world, over which shall teem into her coffers the treasures of two hemispheres, and render her in coming years the sovereign arbitrator among the most powerful nations of the world. What would not the United States give for this great North-West Territory? I venture to say, more millions than the Canada Pacific Railway will cost. Canada may well feel proud of her bargain ; she has half a continent for the price of an ordinary coal mine, or of an English nobleman's estate." The result of the debate was the embodiment of the following clause in the report of the Public Accounts Committee : "Your Committee strongly recommend that the Government be requested to adopt such measures as they may deem best for the purpose of urging on the Government of Canada the necessities of the position of the Province, and to adopt such measures as may best tend to secure an augmentation to the present subsidy, and also the fulfilment of all promises made to this Province previous to the transfer." Immediately after prorogation, Honorable Messrs. Clarke, Howard, Royal and Bird visited Ottawa to lay before the Government the requirements of the Province for an increase of subsidy, and an extension of the special four per cent. duties on goods imported into Manitoba. The latter request was granted by a continuance of the special rate until July, 1874.

The better terms asked for by the Manitoba delegates were voluminously set forth in a memorandum submitted to the Dominion Government, from which we present the following extracts :

1. To change the terms of the financial arrangements entered into between Manitoba and the Dominion of Canada, by taking for the base of the annual Dominion subsidy the number of the population of Manitoba at an estimate of 70,000, and to be allowed the interest at the rate of 5 per cent. on the sum of \$1,943,900 ; to give for the support of the Government and Legislature the annual sum of \$60,000.

2. To commence immediately to push forward as quickly as possible the construction of the Public Buildings of the Province, to wit : Parliament House, residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Departmental offices, five Courts of Justice, Prisons, Penitentiary, and to provide for the erection of a Provincial library.

3. To organize, equip, and send to Manitoba, a body of well and carefully-chosen mounted Dominion Police, over which the Government of Manitoba would have control while stationed in the Province ; the number to be stationed at all times in the Province not to be less than fifty, part of the expenses for the maintenance and support of the said number being defrayed by the Province.

4 To postpone the Canadian Tariff, except on spirituous liquors, until railroad communication with Lake Superior, through Canadian territory, is established.

5. To have the free carriage for immigrants over the Dawson Road from the port of Collingwood to Fort Garry, and the extension of the said road to the western boundary of the Province adjoining the North-West territories, and the maintenance of the same.

6. To provide for the creation of a tribunal in Manitoba to settle all questions as to claims for occupancy of lands, the issue of patents for land, and all conflicting claims to Crown lands and questions of like character, in pursuance of the letter and spirit of the Manitoba Act.

7. To provide immediately for the appointment of Immigration Agents in the Province, and at Duluth, Collingwood, Windsor, Sault Ste. Marie, and in Europe.

8. To provide for a fair and just compensation for the damages done to several printing offices in September, 1872, during the Dominion election riots.

9. To appoint a Chief Justice for the Province.

10. To provide, as soon as possible, for the extension and improvement of the postal service in the Province of Manitoba.

March 31, 1873.

On April 24th following, the delegates presented a further memorandum relating to the extension of the boundaries of the Province. The extension asked for embraced all the territory included within the following lines :—Commencing at a point where the western boundary of the Province of Ontario intersects the boundary line between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada, thence due north along the said western boundary of the Province of Ontario to Hudson's Bay, thence north-westerly along the shore of the said Bay to the parallel of sixty degrees north latitude, to the meridian of one hundred degrees west of Greenwich, thence due south along the said meridian of one hundred degrees of west longitude to the boundary line between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada, and thence easterly along the said boundary line between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada to the place of beginning.

The proposed extension would have given the Province an area of about 297,000 square miles, or about 178,700,000 acres, equal to the combined area of Ontario and Quebec, and more than twenty-five times larger than the original Province of Manitoba. It would have given her a seaport on Hudson's Bay, and a lakeport on Lake Superior, besides bringing her in touch with the eastern Provinces, from which she was separated by the vast region lying between her eastern boundary and Ontario. The memorandum further asked, should the extension be granted :

1. That the population of Manitoba, when extended, shall be taken at 200,000, to be the basis of the same financial arrangements as provided by the Manitoba Act.
2. That the sum of \$90,000 be paid yearly by the Dominion Government to the Province, for the support of the Government and Legislature.
3. That the Province be represented by eight members in the House of

Commons, and by five in the Senate ; the new electoral districts to be delineated by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council of Manitoba, and the elections for the said districts to take place and be regulated according to the instructions received from the Government of Canada.

4. The Dawson Road, being the principal inlet from Canadian territory for immigrants to the North-West, shall remain under the management of the Dominion Government, and be maintained and improved by the said Government.

5. That the recommendations contained in the memorandum of the 31st March, especially those with regard to the Provincial Public Works, the police, the tariff, and the improvement of the postal service, may be made applicable *auctis augendis* to Manitoba when enlarged.

These regulations were interrupted and delayed by the defeat of the Macdonald Cabinet on the " Pacific Scandal."

Many important laws were passed by the Legislature at its second session, among which may be mentioned the Controverted Elections Act, which provided for the trials of contested elections by the judges, instead of by a committee of Parliament. Manitoba was the first of the Provinces of Canada to adopt this measure, and her example was shortly followed by the others. The close of the session was made memorable by the commission of another act of vandalism, for which at that time Manitoba was becoming notorious. A bill for the incorporation of Winnipeg had been reported to the Legislative Assembly by the Legislative Council, with certain amendments which the Speaker of the House, Dr. Curtis J. Bird, held to be unconstitutional, and he therefore ruled the bill out of order, and it was thrown out. For this ruling the Speaker was induced to leave his house at two o'clock at night, to visit a patient, and, while hastening to the residence of the supposed sick person, he was waylaid, kicked, and beaten into insensibility, and otherwise maltreated. Great indignation was expressed at this outrage to common decency, and the Government offered a reward of \$1,000 for the conviction of the perpetrators, but they were never brought to justice.

The death of Sir George E. Cartier, on May 20th, 1872, was a great loss to Manitoba and the North-West. He was the faithful friend and advocate of the rights and interests of the people of the North-West, and his demise caused a delay in carrying out several measures of importance which he had outlined, and was engaged in perfecting at the time of his being called away.

During the early spring of 1872, a number of bad characters made their appearance in Manitoba, under the impression that the new Province would afford them an easy prey. These marauders came from Moorehead, Fargo, and other camps on the line of the Northern Pacific railway, then being constructed through Minnesota and Dakota. Their arrival was followed by a series of burglaries and highway robberies, but their operations were promptly checked by the authorities, and the severe sentences inflicted upon those of them who were brought to justice, acted as a deterrent to their fellows, who hastened to leave a country where their personal liberties were jeopardized.

A remarkable case of attempted abduction created great excitement in Manitoba about this time. A man named Gordon, and commonly known as Lord Gordon, was forcibly seized, and taken from the residence of Hon. James McKay, whose guest he was at the time, and hurried towards the United States boundary, by two Americans, named Michael Hoy and Owen Keegan, on the night of July 1, 1873. The authorities were apprised of the affair, and the Kidnappers and their victim were stopped before reaching the International boundary, and brought back to Winnipeg, where the offenders and certain of their accomplices were lodged in jail. The prisoners were Michael Hoy, Owen Keegan, Loren Fletcher, G. W. Mer-



riam, and L. R. Bentley. Fletcher and Merriam were prominent in business and politics in Minnesota, and their arrest caused intense excitement and indignation in St. Paul, the press threatening to send an armed force to their rescue. Gordon had been arrested in New York a year previous to the attempted kidnapping, at the instance of Jay Gould, with whom he had had considerable litigation with respect to the ownership of some \$2,000,000 worth of Erie Railway stock. He was bailed in the sum of \$37,000, to appear when called upon by the Supreme Court of the State of New York, to answer any order of judgment of the court. His residence in a foreign country, and refusal to render himself amenable to the process of the court, had rendered his bail escheatable, and his bondsmen had commissioned Hoy and Keegan to abduct him; Merriam, Fletcher, Bentley, and others, appear to have acted in the capacity of *amicii curiæ*. The local excitement caused by the arrest and examination of the prisoners, was intensified by the circulation of all kinds of rumors. It was alleged that the prisoner's friends had bribed Attorney-General Clarke, and that the prosecution would be burked by him, while others were equally positive that the Attorney-General had been retained by Gordon, and that the prisoners were being persecuted in consequence. The prisoners were defended by the entire Bar of the Province, with the exception of the Attorney-General and Mr. Francis Evans Cornish, who watched the proceedings in Gordon's interest. The Bench did not escape in the general criticism of the case, which was freely indulged in by press and people, as will be seen by the following reproduction of an extra,\* published by the *Nor'-Wester* :—

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\*The *Nor'-Wester* repudiated the publication of the offensive fly-sheet, alleging that it was a piece of job work ordered by persons not connected with the paper.

AGAIN,  
RIGHT OR WRONG!

*Can the Law be Enforced?*

To-day application for bail was made for the Kidnappers.

Mr. Cornish urged upon the court that granting bail was only putting a price upon the crime of kidnapping.

THE ARGUMENT WAS CLOSED.

*The Presiding Judge, McKeagney, was driven home by  
Wilson, of Minneapolis!!*

THIS MAY MEAN NOTHING, BUT WE SHALL SEE.

CANADIANS,

BE ON THE ALERT FOR THE RESULT!

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

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The prisoners were all committed for trial (bail being refused), on July 23rd, and were indicted at the term of the Court of the Queen's Bench, held on September 20th, 1873, where true bills were found against them. Acting on advice of Counsel, Hoy, Keegan and Bentley pleaded guilty, and the presiding judge, Hon. Lewis Betournay, after reviewing the case and the extenuating circumstances surrounding it, sentenced them to 24 hours imprisonment. Mr. Fletcher was admitted to bail, and in Mr. Merriam's case, a *nolle prosequi* was entered. A remarkable fact in connection with this famous incident was, that Gordon was indicted at the same assizes as his would-be abductors, on charges of larceny, forgery and perjury. The unfortunate man was never tried on these charges, as the trials were postponed, and in the interval the accused had committed suicide.

On Tuesday, Sept. 23rd, Ambroise D. Lepine, ex-Adjutant-General of the Provisional Government, was brought before

Justice Betournay and Gilbert McMicken, Esq., sitting as Police Magistrates, upon the charge, that he did, on the 4th day of March, 1870, kill and murder one Thomas Scott, at Fort Garry. Francis E. Cornish and William B. Thibaudeau appeared for the prosecution, and Honorable Joseph Royal, Hon. Joseph Dubuc and Hon. Marc A. Girard for the defence. The counsel for the accused raised the question of jurisdiction, contending that the power to deal with the case lay with the Imperial Government, and that neither the Dominion nor the Province of Manitoba had any authority to try it. The objection was overruled by Justice Betournay, who ruled that the proper time to raise the question was at the trial of the prisoner, should a case for commitment be found against him. The preliminary examination occupied several days, and resulted in the prisoner being committed for trial.

While Lepine was undergoing examination, on a charge of murder, his chief, Louis Riel, was elected by acclamation as member of the House of Commons for Provencher, the seat having been left vacant by the death of Sir George E. Cartier. Various motives were assigned for this action on the part of Riel's friends, the most plausible being a desire on their part to strengthen his position in combatting the charge of murder which hung over him, but, whatever the motive, the step was most ill-advised, its immediate effect being an aggravation of the feeling of hostility entertained towards him, both in Manitoba and the Eastern Provinces.

Shortly after Mr. Joseph Royal became a member of the Government, there were rumors of internal dissensions among its members. These rumors were vague and unspecific, but the fact protruded itself from time to time, that something, far removed from harmony of purpose animated certain mem-

bers in their mutual relations. Mr. Royal aired his views in *Le Métis*, which was generally accredited as his organ, and that journal took frequent occasion to criticize and impugn the actions of Mr. Clarke. The latter found a defender in *The Manitoba Gazette*, which was popularly believed to be published in his interests, and its columns became the medium through which the insinuations and charges of *Le Métis* were contradicted and discredited, by counterblasts, in which Mr. Royal was severely handled. This skirmishing was carried on for a long time, increasing in bitterness as it progressed, till a culmination was reached, on the floor of the House, during the fourth session of the first parliament (on Nov. 8th, 1873), during the debate on a redistribution bill, by which Mr. Clarke had contemplated giving the English-speaking people of the Province increased representation. Mr. Royal, although a member of the Government, led the French members in opposing the bill, a government measure, but his effort to oust his colleague and rival was frustrated on that occasion by the members of the Opposition who voted for the bill, which was quite acceptable to them. The Redistribution Act and an Act to provide for the enlargement of the boundaries of Manitoba, were the more important measures which passed the House at this session. The House adjourned on Nov. 8th, 1873, to re-assemble on February 5th, 1874.

In the interim, another election for members of the House of Commons took place, consequent upon the resignation of the Macdonald Cabinet, and the accession to power of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. Manitoba returned the following members: Selkirk, Hon. Donald A. Smith, who defeated A. G. B. Bannatyne; Lisgar, Dr. John C. Schultz, defeating E. H. G. G. Hay; Marquette, Robert Cunningham, defeating Joseph Ryan; Provencher, Louis Riel, defeating Joseph Hamelin.

On Feb. 24, 1874, the Grangers, a secret political society, was formed in Winnipeg, which was destined to take a leading part in the affairs of the country; its ostensible object being to oppose monopolies of all kinds, but as none existed in Manitoba at that time, which a political organization could affect, the public awaited developments of the society's real intentions and purposes. The Grangers had not long to wait for their opportunity, for a chance to show their hand in the game of local politics was soon afforded. R. A. Davis, hotel-keeper, was put forward by them as a candidate for Winnipeg against Alexander McMicken, and was returned by a majority of 46. The Legislature re-assembled on July 2nd, 1874, the adjournment having been extended to that date. The Attorney-General announced that the re-distribution bill passed at the former part of the session was based on the supposition that the surveys extended across the Settlement Belt on the main rivers, and as such was found not to be the case, the Government had prepared a new bill by which they hoped to secure to all classes of the population a fair and equitable representation in the House. On the following day, Mr. Hay, member for St. Andrews, moved, seconded by Mr. Joseph Dubuc, "That this House has no confidence in the present Government." A lengthy and exciting debate followed, in which Messrs. Dubuc, Hay and Davis supported the motion in speeches which were more or less personal attacks upon Mr. Clarke. Hon. John Norquay was the only member of the cabinet, beside Mr. Clarke, who defended the Government's position, and the motion carried on the following division: Yeas:—Bird, Burke, Beauchemin, Davis, Dubuc, Delorme, Girard, Hay, Lemay, McKay, McTavish, Sutherland, Schmidt and Spence. Nays:—Bunn, Clarke, Cunningham, Howard,



Norquay and Royal. The Clarke Government resigned immediately after the announcement of the adverse vote, and a new Ministry was formed composed of :

Hon. M. A. Girard, Secretary and Premier.

“ James McKay, President of the Council.

“ E. H. G. G. Hay, Agriculture and Public Works.

“ R. A. Davis, Treasurer.

“ Joseph Dubuc, Attorney-General.

“ Francis Ogletree, without portfolio.

One of the first acts of the new Ministry was to present a report of the reply of the Dominion Government to the “ Better Terms ” demands. The request for enlarged boundaries could not be entertained. Instead of granting an increase of subsidy, or re-adjusting the basis upon which such subsidy was granted, a sum of \$25,000 was advanced to meet pressing requirements, which was made to include \$10,000 advanced for seed wheat to settlers whose crops had been destroyed by grasshoppers in 1872-3. The requests for public Provincial buildings and a library were refused. With regard to damages to printing offices, the Dominion was in no way responsible, and refused to entertain the demand. The items of Mounted Police, Chief Justice, Dawson Road, Indians, Railway to Pembina and Lake Superior, Land Claims, Postal Service and Immigration had been or were in course of being attended to. The House was prorogued on July 22nd, 1874.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### INDIAN TREATIES, NUMBERS THREE, FOUR, FIVE, SIX, AND SEVEN.

As already shown in a previous chapter, the Ojibbeway Indians were not ready, in 1871 and 1872, for the making of a treaty, and it was not until 1873 that arrangements were concluded with them. It was of great importance that these Indians should be treated with, in order to secure the safe passage of immigrants and goods, *via* the "Dawson Route," extending from Prince Arthur's Landing, on Lake Superior, to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, which was then being opened up. Mr. Wemyss M. Simpson, soon after the conclusion of Treaty No. 2, resigned the position of Commissioner of Indian affairs, and Mr. J. A. N. Provencher was appointed in his place. In 1873, Hon. Alexander Morris, who had succeeded Hon. Adams G. Archibald as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, was commissioned by the Dominion Government, in conjunction with Mr. Provencher and Mr. S. J. Dawson, to negotiate a treaty with the Ojibbeways, and accordingly they met these Indians in the end of September. It appears that the Indians desired the meeting to take place at Fort Francis, but this the Commissioners would not agree to, and the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods was the spot selected. Lieutenant-Governor Morris and Messrs. Provencher and Dawson, accom-

panied by Mr. Pether and Mr. St. John, arrived at the Lake of the Woods on the 25th September, but as all the Indians were not assembled, the treaty-making was postponed until the 30th. On that day the various bands met the Commissioners, but, owing to jealousies and divisions amongst themselves, no headway was made for some time after the opening of negotiations. The demands of some of the Indians were exorbitant, and they complained that they had not been paid for the wood used in building the steamers on the Lake of the Woods, or for the use of the Dawson route itself. Mr. Dawson, however, denied having made any promises in regard to the road, as he had always asserted a common right to the use of the wood and the waterway. Excessive demands were next made for money payments, and it looked as if the Commissioners would have to return to Fort Garry without being able to conclude a treaty, when the chief of the Lac Seul band stepped forward to speak. He stated that he represented four hundred people in the north; that they wished a treaty, and desired a school-master to be sent them to teach their children the knowledge of the white man. He also said that as they had begun to cultivate the soil, and were growing potatoes and Indian corn, they wished other grain for seed, and some agricultural implements and cattle. The attitude of the Lac Seul chief, which displayed much good sense and moral courage, served to break the barrier between the other Indians and the Commissioners; and the result was a grand council among all the assembled bands, which was attended by Hon. James McKay, Charles Nolin, and Pierre Lavaillier. Messrs. Provencher and St. John also attended the council of chiefs, and it finally resulted in a renewal of negotiations, and a prospect of terms being arranged, although some fresh demands

of an extraordinary nature were made by the Indians. They wanted a new suit of clothes and fifty dollars annually for each chief, free passes over the Canadian Pacific Railway, when built, and that no "fire water" should be sold on their reserves, the latter demand being agreed to by the Commissioners. They asked that they should not be sent to war for the Queen: that they should have power to put off turbulent men from their reserves, and they wished to know whether any mines found on their land would belong to them, and, finally, they wanted to include in the treaty some American Indians belonging to their tribe. These, and a number of other demands and questions being disposed of by the Commissioners, who remained firm in regard to the terms offered by them for a treaty, the conference finally came to a close, and Treaty No. 3, as it appears in the Appendix to this volume, was agreed to. Hon. Jas. McKay having read the agreement, and explained it fully, the document was signed by the Commissioners, and afterwards by the Chiefs present. In the negotiations which took place, Messrs. McKay, Lavaillier, and Nolin rendered valuable service in bringing them to a successful termination, for which they received the thanks of the Commissioners.

The boundaries of the lands ceded by this treaty began at the north-west angle eastward, taking in all the Lake of the Woods, including White Fish Bay, Rat Portage, and north to White Dog, in English River; up English River to Lac Seul, and then south-east to Lake Nepigon, westward to Rainy River, and down it to Lake of the Woods, and up nearly to Lac des Mille Lacs; then, beginning at the 49th parallel, to White Mouth River; thence down it to the north, along the eastern boundary of the land ceded in 1871, the whole embracing an area of 55,000 square miles. The number of In-

dians in the territory covered by the treaty was estimated at 14,000, divided into the following bands :

North-West Angle—White Fish Bay, or Lake of the Woods.

Rat Portage—Sha-bas-Kang, or Grassy Narrows.

Lake Seul.

Rainy River—Rainy Lake.

Beyond Kettle Falls, southward—Eagle Lake.

Nepigon—Shoal Lake.

At the close of the treaty negotiations, the chief speaker, Mawe-do-pe-nais, addressed the Lieutenant-Governor and Commissioners as follows :

“ Now you see me stand before you all ; what has been done here to-day, has been done openly before the Great Spirit, and before the nation, and I hope I may never hear any one say that this treaty has been done secretly ; and now, in closing this council, I take off my glove, and, in giving you my hand, I deliver over my birthright and lands ; and, in taking your hand, I hold fast all the promises you have made, and I hope they will last as long as the sun rises and the water flows, as you have said.”

The payments were made the following day, and so was closed a treaty whereby a territory of great importance to Canada was enabled to be opened up—a wide extent of fertile lands and great mineral resources.

The next treaty, or number four, was made at the Qu'Appelle Lakes, in the North-West Territories. The Indians treated with were a portion of the Cree and Saulteaux Tribes, and under its operations about 75,000 square miles of territory were surrendered. In 1871, Major Butler, who the previous year, had accompanied the Wolseley expedition, was sent by the Government of Canada into the North-West Terri-



tories to examine and report upon the state of affairs there. He reported to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald that "law and order are wholly unknown in the region of the Saskatchewan, inasmuch as the country is without any executive organization, and destitute of any means of enforcing the law."

The Dominion Government then placed the North-West Territories under the rule of a Lieutenant-Governor and Council, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba being *ex-officio* Governor of the Territories. This Council passed several useful measures, amongst others, a prohibitory liquor law, and made a number of valuable suggestions to the authorities at Ottawa. Treaties with the Indians at Fort Qu'Appelle, Carlton, and Pitt, were recommended, and, accordingly, a commission was issued to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, Hon. David Laird, then Minister of the Interior, and Mr. W. J. Christie, a retired factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, to effect a treaty with the plain Indians, Crees and Chippawas, who inhabited the country around Qu'Appelle.

In pursuance of this object, the Commissioners left Fort Garry in August, 1874, accompanied by an escort of militia under command of Lieut.-Col. Osborne Smith, and arrived at Qu'Appelle on the 8th September. Here, as at the Lake of the Woods, the demands of the Indians were found to be exorbitant and extraordinary, one being that the £300,000 paid to the Hudson's Bay Company should be paid to them. It was quite evident from the nature of some of the claims presented by the tribes that they were being ill-advised by some parties for a purpose; but the firmness of the Commissioners and the good offices of the Half-Breeds, French and English, who were present at the treaties, overcame these difficulties, and on each occasion, when a treaty was signed, it was done willingly by the chiefs of the various tribes.

The greatest difficulty during the negotiations at Qu'Appelle was experienced with the Saulteaux, who endeavored to keep back the Crees from coming to an agreement. Indeed, at one time it looked as if war would break out between the two tribes, as the Saulteaux conducted themselves in a most disorderly manner in their efforts to intimidate the other Indians. The presence of the militia, however, served to prevent an outbreak, and, finally, on the 15th September, the Crees resolved to treat with the Commissioners independently, and this brought the Saulteaux to terms. On the afternoon of the 15th, all the chiefs present at the meeting agreed to sign the treaty after finding that the proposals of the Commissioners, as presented to them, were final. The terms agreed upon, and which the Indians accepted, were the same as those granted at the North-West Angle Treaty. On the 16th September, the payments were made, and on the 17th the Commissioners proceeded to Fort Ellice where a supplementary treaty was effected with a band of Saulteaux Indians who had not been present at Qu'Appelle.

It was now found that certain verbal promises were made to the Indians when treaties one and two were made which were not included in the written text. A memorandum of the promises was afterwards found attached to the treaty, and the Government at Ottawa decided to carry them out. The following is the memorandum in question :

**Memorandum of things outside of the treaty which were promised at the treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the 3rd day of August, A.D., 1871.**

For each chief that signed the treaty, a dress distinguishing him as a chief. For braves and for councillors of each chief a dress, it being supposed that the braves and councillors will be two for each chief. For each chief, except Yellow Quill, a buggy. For the braves and councillors of each chief, except Yellow Quill, a buggy.

In lieu of a yoke of oxen for each reserve, a bull for each, and a cow for

each chief ; a boar for each reserve, and a sow for each chief, and a male and female of each kind of animal raised by farmers ; those when the Indians are prepared to receive them.

A plow and a harrow for each settler cultivating the ground. These animals and their issue to be government property, but to be allowed for the use of the Indians under the superintendance and control of the Indian Commissioner. The buggies to be the property of the Indians to whom they are given. The above contains an inventory of the terms concluded with the Indians.

WEMYSS M. SIMPSON,  
MOLYNEUX ST. JOHN,  
A. G. ARCHIBALD,  
JAS. MCKAY.

It was then decided that a revision of treaties numbers one and two should be effected, which raised the annuities from three to five dollars, and gave an annual sum of twenty dollars to each chief and headman, allowing four of the latter to each band, on the distinct understanding that any Indian accepting the increased payment, would thereby abandon all claims against the Government in connection with verbal promises, other than those recognized by the treaty and the memorandum quoted above.

Lieutenant-Governor Morris and Commissioner Provencher, in company with Hon. James McKay succeeded in effecting the new arrangements, and the revised treaties were agreed to, but the Indians at Portage la Prairie under Yellow Quill continued to be troublesome. They had been granted by treaty number one, preferential claims, in respect to their reserve, in the following words: " And for the use of the Indians, of whom Oo-za-we-Kwan is chief, so much land on the south and east side of the Assiniboine as will furnish one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, reserving also a further tract enclosing said reserve to contain an equivalent of twenty-five square

miles to be laid out around the reserve." The difficulty with the Indians in connection with this land grant, arose from extravagant interpretation of its provisions, and the fact that there was a division amongst themselves as to the locality where the reserve should be. Yellow Quill, who was the most troublesome in the matter, found, however, that he was not all-powerful, and when the commissioners decided to give each of the three bands interested a portion of the whole number of acres proportionate to their numbers in the localities chosen by them, it was finally accepted, and this knotty subject disposed of.

The Winnipeg Treaty, or number five, which followed that of Qu'Appelle, covered an area of, approximately, 100,000 square miles. The region was inhabited by the Chippewas and Swampy Crees, and the necessity for a treaty was urgent, as improvements were being carried on in the district, and settlements of white people were being formed within its boundaries. Lake Winnipeg itself is about three hundred miles in length, and into it the Red River empties, and from it the Nelson River flows into Hudson's Bay. Until the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Lake Winnipeg and Saskatchewan river route was destined to be the principal thoroughfare of communication with the western prairie region, and, until the Indians were treated with, difficulties in way of development were likely to arise. The Minister of Interior therefore reported, "that it was essential that the Indian title to all the territory in the vicinity of the lake should be extinguished, so that settlers and traders might have undisturbed access to its waters, shores, islands, inlets, and tributary streams," and for this purpose Lieutenant-Governor Morris and Hon. Jas. McKay were appointed commissioners, to treat with these Indians.



The Hudson's Bay Company placed their propeller, the "Colville," at the service of the Government for the use of the commissioners free of charge, and these gentlemen left the Indian settlement near the Stone Fort on the 18th September, 1875, on their important mission. They first proceeded to Berens river, on the east side of the lake, and made a treaty with the Indians in that locality, after which they sailed to the head of Lake Winnipeg, and descended the river to Norway House, where up to that time no steamer had been. On concluding an agreement with the Norway House band, the commissioners then visited the mouth of the Great Saskatchewan River, and met the Indians who live there, who agreed to surrender the locality at the foot of the Grand Rapids, where they had erected houses, and go to the south side of the river if they were given a consideration for so doing. A sum of five hundred dollars was then promised by the commissioners, who, upon the treaty being signed, returned to Winnipeg after a voyage on and around the lake of about one thousand miles. The terms of this treaty were identical with those of numbers three and four, except that a smaller quantity of land was granted to each family, being one hundred and sixty, or, in some cases, one hundred acres to a family of five, while under treaties three and four the quantity of land allowed was six hundred and forty acres to each such family. The gratuity paid each Indian was also five dollars, instead of twelve dollars, the circumstances under which the treaty was made being different. The area covered is described as lying north of the territory covered by treaties numbers two and and three, extending west to Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan River, and including the country east and west of Lake Winnipeg and of Nelson River as far north as Split



Lake. In 1876 the Winnipeg Treaty was fully completed, Hon. Thomas Howard and Mr. J. Lestock Reid, being sent out for that purpose.

The next treaty (Number Six), was made at Forts Carlton and Pitt, in 1876. They were of a very important character, inasmuch as they embraced a vast extent of fertile territory contained within an area of about 120,000 square miles. The Indians inhabiting this region belonged to the Cree Nation, and, as far back as 1871, Mr. Simpson, the then Indian Commissioner, addressed the Secretary of State on the subject of concluding a treaty with them. Mr. Simpson's despatch was as follows:—"I desire also to call the attention of His Excellency to the state of affairs in the Indian country on the Saskatchewan. The intelligence that Her Majesty is treating with the Chippewa Indians has already reached the ears of the Cree and Blackfeet tribes. In the neighborhood of Fort Edmonton, on the Saskatchewan, there is a rapidly-increasing population of miners and other white people, and it is the opinion of Mr. W. J. Christie, the officer in charge of the Saskatchewan District, that a treaty with the Indians of that country, or at least an assurance during the coming year that a treaty will shortly be made, is essential to the peace, if not the actual retention, of the country. I would refer His Excellency, on this subject, to the report of Lieut. Butler, and to the enclosed memoranda of Mr. W. J. Christie, the officer above alluded to." Mr. Simpson enclosed, with his despatch, the following extract from a letter written by Mr. Christie, dated from Edmonton House, and a copy of the messages of the Cree Chiefs to Lieut.-Governor Archibald:—

On the 13th, I had a visit from the Cree Chiefs representing the Plain Crees from this to Carlton, accompanied by a few followers.

The object of their visit was to ascertain whether their lands had been sold or not, and what was the intention of the Canadian Government in relation to them. They referred to the epidemic that had raged throughout the past summer, and the subsequent starvation ; the poverty of their country ; the visible diminution of the buffalo, their sole support ; ending by requesting certain presents *at once*, and that I should lay their case before Her Majesty's representative at Fort Garry. Many stories have reached these Indians, through various channels, ever since the transfer of the North-West Territories to the Dominion of Canada, and they were most anxious to hear from myself what had taken place.

I told them that the Canadian Government had, as yet, made no application for their lands or hunting grounds, and when anything was required of them, *most likely Commissioners* would be sent beforehand to treat with them, and that until then they should remain quiet and live at peace with all men. I further stated, that Canada, in her treaties with Indians heretofore, had dealt most liberally with them, and that they were now in settled houses and well off, and that I had no doubt in settling with them the same liberal policy would be followed.

As I was aware that they had heard many exaggerated stories about the troops in Red River, I took the opportunity of telling them why troops had been sent ; and if Her Majesty sent troops to the Saskatchewan, it was as much for the protection of the red as the white man, and that they would be for the maintenance of law and order.

They were highly satisfied with the explanations offered, and said they would welcome civilization. As their demands were complied with, and presents given to them, their immediate followers, and for the young men left in camp they departed, well pleased, for the present time, with fair promises for the future. At a subsequent interview with the chiefs alone, they requested that I should write down their words or messages to their Great Master in Red River. I accordingly did so, and have transmitted the messages as delivered. Copies of the proclamation issued, prohibiting the traffic in spirituous liquors to Indians or others, and the use of strychnine in the destruction of animal life, have been received, and due publicity given to them. But without any power to enforce these laws, it is almost useless to publish them here ; and I take this opportunity of most earnestly soliciting, on behalf of the Company's servants and settlers in this district, that protection be afforded to life and property here as soon as possible, and that commissioners be sent to speak with the Indians on behalf of the Canadian Government.

#### MEMORANDA :

Had I not complied with the demands of the Indians—giving them some little presents—and otherwise satisfied them, I have no doubt that they would have proceeded to acts of violence, and once that had com-



Sir Francis G. Johnson.



menced, there would have been the beginning of an Indian war, which it is difficult to say when it would have ended.

The buffalo will soon be exterminated, and when starvation comes these Plain Indian tribes will fall back on the Hudson's Bay forts and settlements for relief and assistance. If not complied with, or no steps taken to make some provision for them, they will most assuredly help themselves ; and there being no force or any law up there to protect the settlers, they must either submit to be pillaged or lose their lives in the defence of their families and property, against such fearful odds that will leave no hope for their side.

Gold may be discovered in paying quantities any day on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. We have in Montana, and in the mining settlements close to our boundary line, a large mixed frontier population, who are now only waiting and watching to hear of gold discoveries to rush into the Saskatchewan; and without any form of government or established laws up there, or force to protect whites or Indians, it is very plain what will be the result.

I think that the establishment of law and order in the Saskatchewan District as early as possible, is of most vital importance to the future of the country and the interest of Canada, and also the making of some treaty or settlement with the Indians who inhabit the Saskatchewan District.

W. J. CHRISTIE, Chief Factor,  
In charge of Saskatchewan District,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

The following are the messages sent by the Cree Chiefs through Mr. Christie to Lieut.-Governor Archibald :—

*Messages from the Cree Chiefs of the Plains, Saskatchewan, to His Excellency Governor Archibald, our Great Mother's representative at Fort Garry, Red River Settlement.*

1. THE CHIEF, SWEET GRASS, THE CHIEF OF THE COUNTRY.

GREAT FATHER—I shake hands with you and bid you welcome. We heard our lands were sold and we did not like it ; we don't want to sell our lands ; it is our property, and no one has a right to sell them.

Our country is getting ruined of fur-bearing animals, hitherto our sole support, and now we are poor and want help—we want you to pity us. We want cattle, tools, agricultural implements, and assistance in everything when we come to settle—our country is no longer able to support us.

Make provision for us against years of starvation. We have had great starvation the past winter, and the small-pox took away many of our people, the old, young, and children.



We want you to stop the Americans from coming to trade on our lands, and giving fire water, ammunition and arms to our enemies, the Blackfeet. Our young men are foolish—it may not last long.

We invite you to come and see us, and to speak with us. If you can't come yourself, send some one in your place.

We send these words by our Master, Mr. Christie, in whom we have every confidence. That is all.

2. KI-HE-WIN, THE EAGLE.

GREAT FATHER—Let us be friendly. We never shed any white man's blood, and have always been friendly with the whites, and want workmen, carpenters and farmers, to assist us when we settle. I want all my brother Sweet Grass asks. That is all.

3. THE LITTLE HUNTER.

You, my brother, the Great Chief in Red River, treat me as a brother, that is as a Great Chief.

4. KIS-KI-ON, OR SHORT TAIL.

My brother that is coming close, I look upon you, as if I saw you ; I want you to pity me, and I want help to cultivate the ground for myself and descendants. Come and see us.

These Indians, however, remained for five years without any treaty being made with them, although the North-West Council repeatedly urged upon the Dominion Government the necessity of coming to some understanding with them. In 1876, Hon. David Mills, then Minister of the Interior, thus referred to the subject in his report : "Official reports received last year from His Honor Governor Morris, and Colonel French, the officer then in command of the Mounted Police Force, and from other parties, showed that a feeling of discontent and uneasiness prevailed very generally amongst the Assiniboines and Crees, lying in the unceded territory between the Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains. This state of feeling which had prevailed amongst these Indians for some years past, had been increased by the presence last summer in their territory of the parties engaged in the construction of the telegraph line, and in the survey of the Pacific Railway line, and also of a party belonging to the Geological Survey."

A messenger in the person of Rev. G. McDougall, Methodist missionary, who possessed a good deal of influence over the Indians, owing to his long residence among them, had been sent in 1875 to announce that a treaty would be made with them the following year. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Governor Morris, Hon. Jas. McKay, and W. J. Christie, Esq., were appointed commissioners to carry out the promise of the Government, and after travelling over the prairie a distance of about 900 miles, these gentlemen met the Indians at Fort Carlton, in August, 1876. On the 23rd day of that month, after a series of difficult and protracted negotiations, they succeeded in effecting a treaty with the Plain and Wood Crees, but it was not until the 28th that the tribe of Willow Crees, who had been very troublesome, consented to sign.

In this, as in all the other treaties, the success of the mission was due in a large measure to the exertions of Hon. James McKay, whose knowledge of the Indian languages, their customs and manners, enabled him to be of great service during the trying negotiations that took place. The clergymen of the Church of England, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic churches, who were present at Carlton and Fort Pitt, also assisted materially in bringing about the treaty, and Mr. Christie, from his intimate knowledge of the region, and the Indians living in it, proved himself to be invaluable as a commissioner.

When the treaty was concluded at Carlton, the commissioners proceeded to Fort Pitt, where they met with little difficulties, comparatively, in coming to terms with Chief Sweet Grass and his tribe of Plain Crees.

With the conclusion of treaty number six, there only remained the Blackfoot tribe to be treated with, to extinguish

the Indian title to the lands extending from Lake Superior to the slope of the Rocky Mountains, and in 1877 the Dominion Government entrusted the carrying out of a treaty with these Indians to Hon. David Laird, who was then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, and Lieut.-Colonel McLeod, of the Mounted Police Force. The unsundered portion of the territory included about fifty thousand square miles, lying at the south-west angle of the territories north of the boundary line, east of the Rocky Mountains, south of Red River, and west of the Cypress Hills. This portion of the North-West was occupied by the Blackfeet, Blood, and Sarcees, or Piegan Indians, some of the most warlike and intelligent, but intractable bands in the territories. Previous to the visit of the commissioners to the Blackfeet, the Rev. C. Scollen, who had been for many years a missionary among the Plain Indians of the North-West, was requested to prepare a statement as to their character, habits, and condition, and, as it may prove of interest to our readers, we give the report in full :—

FORT PITT, Sept. 8th, 1876.

*To His Excellency the Governor of Manitoba.*

EXCELLENT GOVERNOR—Having had some years of experience as a missionary amongst the Cree and Blackfeet Indians of the North-West Territory, I humbly undertake to submit to your consideration a few details regarding the latter tribe of Her Majesty's Indian subjects. Although the general character of all the tribes may be nearly the same, yet in their social dispositions they sometimes materially differ, and this I think will be found to be the case with the Crees and Blackfeet, when compared on that point. The Crees have always looked upon the white man as a friend, or, to use their own language, as a brother. They have never been afraid of him, nor have they given him any cause to be afraid of them. The Blackfeet have acted somewhat differently ; they have regarded the white man as a demi-god, far superior to themselves in intelligence, capable of doing them good or evil, according as he might be well or ill disposed towards them, unscrupulous in his dealings with others, and consequently a person to be flattered, feared, and shunned, and even injured whenever this could be done with impunity. I am not now describing

the Blackfeet of the present day, but those of fifteen years ago, when I first saw them. They were then a proud, haughty, numerous people (perhaps ten thousand on the British side of the line), having a regular politico-religious organization by which their thirst for blood and their other barbarous passions were constantly fired to the highest pitch of frenzy. Since that time their number has decreased to less than one half, and their systematic organizations have fallen into decay ; in fact, they have been utterly demoralized as a people. This sudden decadence was brought on by two causes : 1. About ten years ago the Americans crossed the line and established themselves on Pelly River, where they carried on to an extraordinary extent the illicit traffic in intoxicating liquor to the Blackfeet. The fiery water flowed as freely, if I may use the metaphor, as the streams running from the Rocky Mountains, and hundreds of the poor Indians fell victims to the white man's craving for money. Some poisoned, some frozen to death whilst in a state of intoxication, and many shot down by American bullets. 2. Then in 1870 came that disease so fatal to Indians, the small-pox, which told upon the Blackfeet with terrible effect, destroying between six hundred and eight hundred of them. Surviving relatives went more and more for the use of alcohol ; they endeavored to drown their grief in the poisonous beverage. They sold their robes and horses by the hundred for it, and now they began killing one another, so that in a short time they were divided into several small parties afraid to meet. Fortunately for them, the Government were aware of the state of affairs in the country, and did not remain indifferent to it ; and, as I have heard yourself explain to the Indians, Her Gracious Majesty has at heart the welfare of even the most obscure of her subjects. In the summer of 1874, I was travelling amongst the Blackfeet. It was painful to me to see the state of poverty to which they had been reduced. Formerly they had been the most opulent Indians in the country, and now they were clothed in rags, without horses and without guns. But this was the year of their salvation ; that very summer the Mounted Police were struggling against the difficulties of a long journey across the barren plains, in order to bring them help. This noble corps reached their destination that same fall, and with magic effort put an entire stop to the abominable traffic of whiskey with the Indians. Since that time the Blackfeet Indians are becoming more and more prosperous. They are now well clothed, and well furnished with horses and guns. During the last two years, I have calculated that they have bought two thousand horses to replace those they had given for whiskey. They are forced to acknowledge that the arrival of the Red Coats has been to them the greatest boon. But although they are externally so friendly to the police and other strangers who now inhabit their country, yet underneath this friendship remains hidden some of that dread, which they have always had, of the white man's intention to cheat

them ; and here, excellent Governor, I will state my reasons for believing that a treaty should be concluded with them also at the earliest possible date.

1st. The Blackfeet are extremely jealous of what they consider their country, and never allowed any white men, Half-Breeds, or Crees, to remain in it for any length of time ; the only reason that they never drove the Americans off, apart from their love of whiskey, was their dread of the Henri rifle.

2nd. They have an awful dread of the future. They think that the police are in the country not only to keep out whiskey traders, but also to protect white people against them, and that this country will be gradually taken from them without any ceremony. This I can certify, for although they may not say so to others, yet they do not hide it from me.

3rd. Numbers of people are settling around Fort McLeod and Fort Calgary, in order to farm, raise stock, etc. This will probably drive the buffalo away through time from the ordinary hunting grounds, and, if so, the Blackfeet, being the most helpless Indians in the country, and unaccustomed to anything else but hunting buffalo, would suffer extremely.

4th. The settlers also are anxious that a treaty be made as soon as possible, so that they may know what portions of land they can hold without fear of being molested.

5th. The Blackfeet themselves are expecting to have a mutual understanding with the Government, because they have been told of it by several persons and, namely, by Gen. Smythe, last year.

Such are the principal reasons which occur to my mind for making a treaty with the Blackfeet. It remains for you, Excellent Governor, to weigh their value. Of course you would find the same prejudices amongst the Blackfeet that you have found amongst the Crees, but you would have no greater difficulty in dispelling them. You would have four clans to treat with, viz. : the Blackfeet, Bloods and Piegiens, all of the same tribe, and the Sarcees, a branch of the Peace River Indians, called Beavers. As to the place of rendezvous, there would be no difficulty whatever ; the Blackfeet live in large camps under their respective Chiefs, and could go to any point after due notice.

It remains for me now, Excellent Governor, to beg you to excuse the many defects of this communication, and to accept the assurance of sincere esteem and profound respect of

Your most humble servant,

CONSTANTINE SCOLLEN,

Priest O. U. J.

P.S.—I am aware that the Sioux Indians, now at war with the Americans, have sent a message to the Blackfeet tribe, asking them to make an alliance, offensive and defensive, against all white people in the country.

C. SCOLLEN.



Lieutenant-Governor Laird proceeded from the temporary seat of Government of the North-West Territories at Swan River, and Col. McLeod from Fort McLeod, the head-quarters of the Mounted Police, and met the Blackfeet at the Blackfoot Crossing, on the Bow River, on the 17th September, 1877, and after five days of tedious negotiations, succeeded in concluding a treaty with them. The total number of Indians represented at the making of the treaty was four thousand three hundred and ninety two, and the terms agreed upon were substantially the same as those contained in the North-West Angle and Qu'Appelle treaties. As some of the bands, however, were inclined to engage in pastoral pursuits, it was arranged to give them cattle instead of agricultural implements. The Minister of the Interior in his report, refers to this treaty as follows: "The conclusion of this treaty with these warlike and intractable tribes, at a time when the Indian tribes immediately across the border were engaged in open hostilities with the United States troops, is certainly a conclusive proof of the just policy of the Government of Canada toward the aboriginal population." It might be added that the success which attended the commissioners' efforts in treaty-making was due in no small measure to the just and humane treatment the Indians had received at the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Half-Breeds of the country, who assisted the Canadian Government very materially in the work of pacification.

In concluding this chapter, we give the following census returns of Indians in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, inhabiting the country at the time of the treaties, from which it will be seen that their numbers had decreased about one-half since the days of the fur trade:—

Lake Manitoba Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	160
Pembina Band	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	312
Fort Garry Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	233
Waterhen and Crane River Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	176
Portage la Prairie Band	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	447
Riding Mountain and Dauphin Lake Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	113
Fairford Band No. 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	107
" " " 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	193
Broken Head River Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	93
Fort Alexander Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	320
St. Peter's Band	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,493
Indians of Rainy Lake and Rainy River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	386
Indians of the Lake of the Woods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	346
Indians of Shoal Lake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	111
Indians of Fort Francis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49
Cree Indians, estimated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,000
Blackfeet Indians, estimated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,000
Blood " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,000
Piegan " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,000
Sarcees (Surcees) "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200
Assiniboine Indians, estimated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	300
Wood Crees " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	425
R. M. Assiniboine "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	225
Sioux " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	600
The following are Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Indians.										
Assabaocah -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	152
Rat Portage -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	64
English River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	110
Hungry Hall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	54
Pickerill Lake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	113
Flower and Eagle Lake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	93
Sturgeon Lake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	52
Mille Lac	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	77
Rivière La Seine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66
Indians of the Athabasca and Mackenzie district	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,000

30.070



## CHAPTER IX.

### THE LEPINE TRIAL, THE OUTLAWRY OF RIEL, AND THE AMNESTY.

THE execution of Thomas Scott, as a punishment for alleged treason against the Provisional Government, has been recounted in a previous chapter, as well as the indignation which the commission of that crime gave rise to all through the Dominion. The volunteers of the Ontario and Quebec Battalions enlisted, almost to a man, on the impulse of avenging the death of Scott. They had little, if any, hostile feeling against the people of the Red River Settlement, for resisting the entrance of Canadian officials to the country till such time as their rights as British subjects, and subjects of the Dominion, should have been clearly defined and assured to them. But those who had wantonly shed blood under color of a constituted authority that never was intended, by its originators, to arbitrate in matters of life and death, they held in detestation and abhorrence. It was, therefore, a cause of indignant surprise to the volunteers that, on their arrival in Manitoba, immediate steps were not taken to bring to justice Riel and those members of his council and followers, who were known to have been directly connected with the crime. Some of these men were well known in the community ; they made no attempt at concealment, and were often seen in public, even in the streets of Winnipeg. On several occasions, innocent French Half-Breeds were waylaid and beaten by parties of

volunteers, under the supposition that they were some of the guilty ones, and one man, Goulet, as already shown, was hunted to death by a mob, their victim being driven into the Red River, and drowned in his attempt to escape.

The authorities seemed indifferent. According to the sworn testimony of Mr. Stewart Mulvey the delegations who waited upon Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, requesting him to put the law in motion, were told by him that the law of the Province had no cognizance of the murder of Scott, or other crimes committed before the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada. Informations were asked to be taken against Riel and others repeatedly, but no magistrate could be found to take the information or issue a warrant, as all were instructed, as they stated, not to do so, as they had no jurisdiction over the offence. In December, 1870, an information was laid before Mr. James Setter, a Provincial Justice of the Peace, and a warrant, prepared by Mr. Mulvey, was issued by him in the following form :—

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, {  
To Wit :

To CAPTAIN VILLIERS, Chief of Police, and all other Constables.

Personally appeared before me, John James Setter, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the Province of Manitoba, on this 31st day of December, Charles Garrett, of the Town of Winnipeg, tavern keeper, who makes oath and saith that on the fourth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventy, one Thomas Scott was wilfully and unlawfully shot to death, by order of one Louis Riel, at Fort Garry. This is therefore to command you, and all other constables of the Province of Manitoba, or either of the constables of the said Province, to arrest the said Louis Riel, and to bring him personally before me, to be dealt with according to law.

And that in case of resistance of the said Louis Riel, I do hereby order and command you to *bring his body, dead or alive*, before me.

Witness my hand and seal, this thirty first day of December, A D. 1870.

JOHN JAMES SETTER

This warrant was never acted upon, but was suppressed, as was afterwards explained by Sir John A. Macdonald, in the House of Commons, by order of the Lieutenant-Governor, and Mr. Setter's commission as a Justice of the Peace was cancelled, for obvious reasons—even in those unsettled times persons accused of crime were not to be taken *dead or alive*.

In his report respecting claims made to the reward offered by the Ontario Government for the apprehension of the Scott murderers, Chief Justice Wood said: "There seems to be no question that from the origin of the Government of Manitoba, in the latter part of the summer of 1870, down to the autumn of 1873, the executive head and the officials not only systematically opposed any proceedings being taken against the murderers of Scott, and directly or indirectly warned all peace officers to entertain no application to proceed against them, but also threw around them the shield and the defence of the whole executive authority—declaring publicly and privately that the law could not take cognizance, and the courts had not jurisdiction over the offence; but that it was a matter, if cognizable at all by any tribunal, belonging to the Imperial authorities. It was a favorite doctrine that neither the Manitoba nor the Canadian courts had jurisdiction of the offence, and, therefore, no one had any legal right to set the law in motion; and this proposition received all the weight and force that could be given to it by the Governor, and by the written and published opinions of gentlemen standing high in the profession in the older Provinces. In this connection it must not be forgotten that under the Manitoba Act of 1870, the Governor was his own Prime or First Minister, and that his advisers were simply his agents and instruments, whom he could retain or dismiss at his pleasure, and who were not obliged



even to have seats in either House of the Legislature. The Governor was, during the first four years of the Government of Manitoba, legally, theoretically, and practically supreme, and, since then, practically, if not legally and theoretically supreme."

Shortly after the Ontario Government offered a reward for the arrest and conviction of Scott's murderers, a Mr. W. A. Farmer entered into correspondence with Hon. Mr. Blake, submitting a proposition to procure a person to arrest Riel and Lepine and hand them over to the civil authorities. Mr. Blake replied that the arrest would do no good unless they could be brought before a court of competent jurisdiction. This reply of Mr. Blake's would seem to imply that he, too, was of opinion that the courts of Manitoba had not jurisdiction of the case.

In September, 1873, a meeting was held in the office of Mr. Francis E. Cornish, barrister, at Winnipeg, at which the arrest of Riel and Lepine was discussed. Those present were Mr. Cornish, W. B. Thibaudeau, Stewart Mulvey, Thomas Hughes, and H. W. Smith. They debated the subject from every point of view, and finally determined to ask W. A. Farmer to lay an information. Mr. Farmer was sought, an information and warrant were prepared by Mr. Cornish, and copied by Mr. Thibaudeau, and Mr. Cornish went with Farmer to the house of Hon. Dr. John H. O'Donnell, who was a member of the Legislative Council and a magistrate. Dr. O'Donnell had retired, but they aroused him, and, on his being assured by Mr. Cornish that the papers were in regular form, he took the information and issued the warrant. The latter was immediately handed to Sheriff E. Armstrong, and, though it was near midnight, he undertook to act upon it that night. He

took a constable with him and searched the houses of Robert Cunningham, M.P., and Honorable A. G. B. Bannatyne, at one or other of which he supposed Riel to be visiting, but failed to locate him. On the following day the Sheriff entrusted the warrant to John Ingram, Leon Dupont, and John A. Kerr, and they made a search for Riel at his house and in his usual resorts, but he had evidently been warned and had fled. Failing in their attempt to arrest Riel, they went to Ambrose Lepine's house and arrested him. Lepine did not resist arrest, although he remarked to his captors (Ingram and Dupont), that he could knock them together like two balls and smash them to pieces. He was a man of great strength and herculean build. He was brought to Winnipeg and lodged in one of the bastions of Fort Garry. The warrant upon which Lepine was arrested was in the following form:

## WARRANT TO APPREHEND.

CANADA,  
 PROVINCE OF MANITOBA,  
 COUNTY OF SELKIRK. }

To all or any of the Constables or other Peace Officers in the County of Selkirk.

WHEREAS Louis Riel and Ambrose Lepine and others have, this day, been charged upon oath before the undersigned, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said County of Selkirk, for that they, the said Louis Riel, Ambrose Lepine, and others unknown, did, on or about the fourth day of March, in the year of Our Lord 1870, feloniously kill and murder one Thomas Scott, at the said County of Selkirk.

These are, therefore, to command you in Her Majesty's name forthwith to apprehend the said Louis Riel, Ambrose Lepine, and others, and to bring them before me or some other of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, in and for the said County of Selkirk, to answer unto the said charge, and to be further dealt with according to law.

Given under my hand and Seal, this 15th day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, at the Town of Winnipeg, in the County of Selkirk, aforesaid.

JOHN H. O'DONNELL, J. P. [L. S.]

From the date of Lepine's return to Manitoba from St. Paul, Minn., where he had gone in the autumn of 1870, at the request of Bishop Taché (who advised him to leave the country at the earnest solicitation of Sir John A. Macdonald), and up to the time of his arrest, he had pursued his ordinary avocation of a farmer, and had made no attempt at concealment or escape. His arrest created great excitement, both amongst the French and English-speaking Half-Breeds, as nothing had transpired to lead to the belief that any arrests in connection with the Scott affair would be made. A majority of the French regarded the action as an outrage of good faith, but many of the English-speaking people looked upon it with satisfaction, as the first step towards a thorough investigation of the Scott murder, and the punishment of the guilty ones.

Lepine was brought before Mr. Justice Betournay and Mr. Gilbert McMicken, J. P., on September 23rd, 1873, for preliminary hearing of the case against him. Messrs. Cornish and Thibaudeau appeared for the prosecution. Hon. Messrs. Royal, Dubuc, and Girard for the defence. Prisoner's counsel raised the question of jurisdiction, and Mr. Royal made a lengthy argument, in which he contended that the Imperial Act of 1821, provided that cases of murder committed in the North-West could only be tried by the Courts of Upper and Lower Canada. In 1841, an Imperial statute vested the powers conferred by the Act of 1821 in the united Provinces of Canada. The British North America Act repealed the Act of 1841. Again, the Rupert's Land Act, passed in 1868, provided that, from a certain day to be fixed by Order-in-Council, Canada should succeed to full powers in Rupert's Land. That Order-in-Council was not passed till June, 1870. The resolutions upon which the accession of the North-West were

based, stated that it was for the *future* welfare and government of the country. The Manitoba Act expressly provided that its application should not be retroactive, and that Act not having been framed till 1871, the courts of Manitoba had no right to take cognizance of matters that transpired prior to 1871. He also dwelt upon the fact that the Provisional Government had been recognized at Ottawa by the reception of its delegates and subsequent negotiations, and urged the court to consider the political features of the case before proceeding with the examination. He took the position that from the time of the resignation of the Council of Assiniboia, in 1869, until Canada assumed the courts by Act of Parliament, in 1871, the jurisdiction in the North-West was vested in the Imperial Government. Mr. Justice Betournay decided that he could not determine the question of jurisdiction at that stage of the proceedings, it being merely for him to ascertain if there was a *prima facie* case against the accused, and if so, to send him for trial to the higher court. The examination of witnesses was proceeded with, occupying five days, and resulted in the prisoner being committed to stand his trial at the next Assizes.

On the day before Lepine's examination began, a large deputation, composed of French Half-Breeds and many leading men, including Hon. Messrs. Girard and Bannatyne, Reverend Father Richot, and Robert Cunningham, M.P., waited on Governor Morris, protesting against Lepine's arrest as illegal, claiming an amnesty, and asking the Government's intention in the premises. In his reply the Governor stated that the matter was not one in which he had power to interfere. He pointed out that courts of law had been established here; that the two Judges were charged with the

administration of the law ; that magistrates had been appointed with the power to issue warrants : that where a warrant was issued a preliminary examination must take place, and that if there was sufficient of evidence adduced to justify a reasonable belief that a crime had been committed, the case must go before the Grand Jury. With regard to the alleged promise of an amnesty, he had nothing whatever to do with that, which was a matter to be adjusted between those who claimed the amnesty and the Dominion Government. He added that no power but that of the Queen herself could declare an amnesty ; and he could take no cognizance of their allegation, but would communicate their statement to the authorities at Ottawa. He impressed upon those present the necessity that existed for every one to do all in their power to allay public excitement, and to use only constitutional methods to gain their desires : he assured them that there was no fear of any injustice or act of violence being done to Lepine, as, so soon as he had heard of the arrest, he had taken steps to insure the prisoner's safety and protection.

At the Assizes held in November, 1873, at which Mr. Justice McKeagney presided, a true bill for murder was found against Ambroise Lepine, by a Grand Jury composed of the following : William T. Lonsdale, Foreman ; John F. Grant, Alexander Murray, William Fraser, John Higgins, William Henderson, George Setter, David Cussitor, William A. Farmer (upon whose information the warrant was issued), Urban Delorme, Baptiste Laviolette, and B. Falcon. Of these, Grant, Murray, Cussitor, Delorme, Laviolette and Falcon were Half-Breeds. Hon. Joseph Royal, of counsel for the accused, demurred to the jurisdiction, Hon. Attorney-General Clarke replied for the Crown, and His Lordship reserved his decision. Subsequently, on



December 22nd, Mr. Justice McKeagney admitted the prisoner to bail, himself in \$4,000, and two sureties in \$2,000 each. His Lordship, in granting bail, gave, as his chief reason for doing so, the fact that the accused had sought no means of concealment or of evading justice, although the Crown had allowed nearly four years to elapse without moving in the case. The Hon. A. G. B. Bannatyne and André Beauchemin were accepted as sureties.

At the February Term, 1874, Lepine's case was called for hearing, but Mr. Justice McKeagney declared that he did not consider himself competent or justified in deciding a question of such great importance as the jurisdiction of the court, and would therefore further reserve his decision till the appointment of a Chief Justice, and the prisoner's bail was therefore enlarged till the next term of Court. When the Court sat in June, Honorable Edmund Burke Wood, who had been appointed Chief Justice in the interval, presided, with Justices Betournay and McKeagney as associates. The question of jurisdiction was again fully argued by Hon. Joseph Royal, for the defence, and by Attorney-General Clarke, for the Crown. The Chief Justice read a voluminous judgment, in which he traced the law bearing upon the case, from the granting of the charter to the Hudson's Bay Company by King Charles II., step by step, up to the organization of the Court over which he presided, and decided that the Court had jurisdiction to try the prisoner on the charge as laid in the indictment. The business of the term, however, prevented Lepine's case being reached, but in November following he was placed on trial before the following jury: John Omand, Norbert Marion, John Forbes, James Parks, Peter Harkness, Baptiste Dubois, Samuel West, Joseph Poitras, Cornelius Pruden, André Robillard,

Maurice Bird and Norbert Nolin. Chief Justice Wood presided. The Crown was represented by Mr. Francis E. Cornish and Stewart Macdonald; Messrs. Chapleau (of the Quebec Bar), and Royal, defended the prisoner. The trial occupied twenty-one days, and resulted in the conviction of Lepine. The addresses of counsel were remarkable examples of forensic eloquence, that of Mr. Chapleau in particular, being a master effort of one who was recognized as the foremost of criminal jurists. On November 4th, 1874, Chief Justice Wood sentenced the prisoner to be hanged on the 29th of January, 1875. On the 25th of January, just four days before that fixed for the execution, Lepine's sentence was commuted to two years imprisonment in gaol from the date of conviction, and the permanent forfeiture of his civil rights. This act of clemency was performed by the Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, entirely on his own responsibility, thus relieving his Ministers of any obligations in the matter.

Riel had fled the country, when the first attempt to arrest him was made, and shortly afterwards he was declared a fugitive from justice, and outlawed by the Courts of Manitoba.

André Nault, Elzear Lagemoniere, Joseph Delorme, and Basil Ritchot, were indicted for the murder of Scott in February, 1874. Nault was tried for the offence, but the jury disagreed. Lagemoniere was also tried and honorably acquitted, as having no hand in the crime. Nault never stood a second trial, as before another Assize was held, the general amnesty was proclaimed, and all proceedings were consequently dropped.

The amnesty question was an embarrassing one to the Dominion Government, one of the most troublesome that the Macdonald Administration had bequeathed to their successors

in office. Emboldened by the fact that he had been assured of the condonation of his political offences, and self-complacently regarding the murder of Scott as included, Riel had the audacity to present himself at the office of the clerk of the House of Commons, where he took the oath and signed the roll of members, as member elect for Provencher. This foolhardy act caused great indignation, and a motion to expel him from the House, which is dealt with fully in a later chapter, was made by Mr. McKenzie Bowell. The motion was made the subject of a protracted debate, in the course of which the amnesty question was introduced as an amendment to the motion for expulsion. The motion was finally carried by a vote of 123 for, and 68 against. The amendment was lost by 110 votes—27 for and 137 against.

It must be remarked in Lepine's favor, that he acted throughout in a manly, straightforward way; he might have escaped at any time from the day of Scott's death up to that of his arrest, but he never made the attempt. Indeed, when he was induced to go to St. Paul, Minn., where he might have considered himself perfectly safe, he declined to remain there, but returned to Manitoba, and awaited the action of the authorities. His conduct was that of an honest, conscientious man, who had been tempted into the commission of a wrongful act, but who was too brave and loyal to the cause he deemed just to shield himself from the consequences of his fault.

The \$5,000 reward offered by Ontario for the apprehension of Scott's murderers was distributed as follows, on the recommendation of Chief Justice Wood:—

William Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	\$2,000
Francis E. Cornish	-	-	-	-	-	400

William B. Thibaudeau	-	-	-	-	\$400
Leon Dupont	-	-	-	-	330
John S. Ingram	-	-	-	-	330
Edward Armstrong (Sheriff)	-	-	-	-	330
John A. Kerr	-	-	-	-	330
George M. Young	-	-	-	-	300
Thomas Hughes	-	-	-	-	290
H. W. Smith	-	-	-	-	290

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## CHAPTER X.

### COMMENCEMENT OF A PERIOD OF RETRENCHMENT.

THE progress of the town of Winnipeg from the time of the transfer of the North-West to Canada was rapid and substantial. The steamers running on the Red River brought in large cargoes of merchandise and full lists of passengers, the flat boats laden with goods, and immigrants became more and more numerous, and building operations were pushed forward with surprising rapidity. On the 10th May, 1871, a Mr. Ellwood was instructed by the Provincial Government to survey a part of Main-street, which was soon afterwards graded to a width of 32 feet, and this was the commencement of street-making in the town.

On the 11th September, 1871, the first stage arrived, and commenced a tri-weekly service with mails and passengers, but soon it became a daily line, continuing in operation until 1877, when the most of the stock coaches and drivers were transferred to the Black Hills route, and in the following year (1878), the railway took the place of the stage.

In church matters, the Episcopal Church Holy Trinity, had to be enlarged, and indeed the ambitious townspeople, as early as 1872, made an attempt to establish a Cathedral in Winnipeg, or, in other words, to remove the one existing in St. Johns to within the limits of the town. On the 17th September 1871, the Methodist place of worship, Grace Church, which



was built through the untiring exertions of Rev. Geo. Young, was dedicated, and the following month Mr. W. F. Luxton, afterwards prominent in political and press matters, took charge of what may be looked upon as the first public school in Manitoba. Previous to that time, as far back as 1833, Rev. Mr. Jones had established a boarding school at St. Johns, which ultimately became St. Johns College, the beautiful motto of which is "In Thy light shall we see light," the words being selected by Bishop Anderson. In 1867, Miss Bannatyne, who afterwards became the wife of Rev. John Black, of Kildonan, conducted a class in the village of Winnipeg, more from a spirit of kindness than from any hope of gain, and in 1869 the Sisters of Charity established a day school in a small cottage in Winnipeg, from which sprang the present fine establishment, St. Mary's Academy. In October, 1871, the Manitoba College was opened with Rev. Mr. Bryce as principal, and from then on the educational interests of the Province made rapid progress.

Almost immediately after the creation of the Province, applications for bank charters were made, the first being for the Bank of Rupert's Land, and the second for the Bank of Manitoba, but neither of these materialized. On the 14th December, 1872, the Merchants Bank opened an agency in Winnipeg, followed by the Ontario Bank in 1875, and again in 1877 by the Bank of Montreal.

In the spring of 1872, there were three steamers plying regularly between points south of the boundary line and Winnipeg, and in May, 1875, the merchants of the city having, in connection with some gentlemen in Minneapolis, formed an opposition line, their two steamers were added to the fleet on the Red River, and in 1876 there were no less than seven

steamers on the route, besides several others running exclusively in British territory. Thus the trade of the Province increased, and, as an evidence of the progress made in this respect, it may be stated that while Winnipeg could boast of only 19 business houses in 1870, the number in 1874 had increased to 135. In 1873 Winnipeg was incorporated as a city, after a tedious struggle to obtain from the Legislature the necessary charter, and from that time its growth was remarkable. The year following incorporation, the city was connected with Portage la Prairie by means of a tri-weekly stage, which carried the mails, and in 1876 a regular mail was dispatched to the Saskatchewan, Hon. James McKay being the contractor. About the same time telegraphic communication was opened between Battle River, in the North-West, and Winnipeg, the following messages being among the first sent over the line:—

“TELEGRAPH FLAT,

“Battle River, April 6, 1876.

“The Telegraph Flatters take this first opportunity of shaking hands with the Winnipeggers across the wire, and congratulate them on being in telegraphic communication with this the enterprising capital of the North-West.”

The next despatch was—

“PELLEY, April 6, 1876.

“The city of Swan River rejoices to join hands with her sister city, Winnipeg. Accept our warmest greetings.”

In 1872, on the 9th November, the *Free Press*, which has since become the greatest newspaper in the North-West, made its appearance as a weekly, and in the following year it published a daily edition. The *Gazette* also made its bow to the public in 1872, and *Le Métis*, the first French newspaper in the Province, was being published at St. Boniface.

In April, 1874, the Dominion Government gave a contract to Messrs. Carpenter & Co. to use the Dawson route for the carrying of freight and passengers from Lake Superior to Winnipeg, but the undertaking was never properly carried out by the contractors, and the Government were obliged to abandon it. Indeed, a great deal of suffering was entailed upon many of the passengers who attempted to enter the Province by this road, although the cost to Canada of establishing it had reached, in 1874, the enormous figure of \$1,294,887.

About the same time, however, the Dominion Government resolved to go on and complete the railway from Winnipeg to Pembina, to connect with the St. Paul and Pacific Railway Company, which was then building northward towards the International boundary, and a sum of \$650,000 was included in the estimates of 1874, for the purpose.

The Dominion Government, also, in the same year, commenced the building of the Custom House and Land Office in Winnipeg, so that the outlook for the prosecution of public works in the Province had a promising appearance.

But at this time the Province was visited by the grasshoppers, and the crops, which were in a most flourishing condition, suffered almost total destruction in many parts of the Province. The blow was a severe one to old and new settlers, just as the country in other respects gave signs of a healthy state of development, for although the damage to the country, as a whole, was not as great as at first feared, the loss to the farmers in many sections was very considerable. One good effect of the visitation, however, was to call the attention of agriculturists to the necessity of taking steps to prevent a recurrence, if possible, of the scourge, and the result was that

precautionary measures were not only considered, but afterwards adopted.

In the latter part of September, 1874, the first sod in the work of construction on the railway between Winnipeg and Pembina was turned by Mr. Whitehead, the contractor, and operations were pushed forward energetically from that date, and in the following November the telegraph line connecting Winnipeg with the stone fort was completed.

Thus the Province of Manitoba was making substantial progress in the development of its resources, under circumstances, however, which were not altogether satisfactory. The revenue, in the way of subsidy from the Dominion, was not adequate to the needs of the country, and in consequence the Province was running into debt, the expenditure often exceeding the estimates by large amounts.

At this stage the Girard Government resigned office on the 9th December, 1874, and Hon. R. Davis was called upon to form a new Ministry. This he succeeded in doing, as follows :

Hon. R. A. Davis, Provincial Treasurer and Premier.

Hon. Joseph Royal, Minister of Public Works and Provincial Secretary.

Hon. Colin Inkster, Speaker Legislative Council and President Executive Council.

The reduction in the number of Cabinet Ministers which the change of government brought about effected a saving of \$4,300 per annum. It was also proposed to reduce the indemnity to members from \$300 to \$200, which would make a further saving of \$2,400 per session.

The abolition of the Legislative Council was promised, which, if effected, would save the Province an outlay of \$6,200 each year, and the new Government proposed, by a

policy of rigid economy, to reduce the expenditure in every branch of the civil service.

The following is an outline of the policy announced by the Davis Government on taking office :—

1. Rigid confining of the Expenditures within the Income of the Province.

2. The practice of the closest economy, that may be consistent with efficiency, in all the expenditures of the public moneys, and, as an earnest thereof, the reduction of the Ministry to three.

3. The prosecution of negotiations with the Dominion Government for a moderate but sufficiently increased subsidy, to enable the Government of Manitoba to meet the demands upon the revenues resulting from a rapidly growing population.

4. The introduction of an effective municipal system, and, in connection therewith, aiding the municipalities in the maintenance and construction of roads and bridges.

5. The abolition of the Upper House.

6. The reduction of the indemnity of members to \$200 for the session.

7. The amendment of the school laws, so as to secure an accurate list of the attendance of pupils in the schools, duly verified under oath.

8. A reduction of the expenditure in connection with the administration of justice, to the greatest extent practicable; and, in connection therewith, the entrusting to Crown Counsel the conduct of all prosecutions under a tariff of fees of a reasonable but yet economical amount.

9. The dealing from time to time, by practical and progressive legislation, with all subjects affecting the advance of the



Province and the well-being of the whole community, taking advantage of the experience of the other provinces of the Dominion, and having in view the special requirements of the people of Manitoba.



## CHAPTER XI.

### THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION.

THE boundary between British North America and the United States was agreed upon by the Treaty of Ghent, on December 24th, 1814. On October 20th, 1818, an International Convention determined the geographical boundary, and a joint commission was appointed to define it from the Atlantic Ocean westward. This commission concluded its work in 1826, at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, where a monument was erected. During the years 1858-62, a joint commission marked the boundary from the Pacific Ocean eastward to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. In the interior of the continent, between these terminal points, the boundary remained unmarked until 1872, when the recent cession of the North-West to Canada rendered a definite boundary in the prairie region necessary. A commission was therefore appointed by each nation to work in unison in defining the line from the north-west angle, westward to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. The British Commission was composed of the following staff:—

Her Majesty's Commissioner, Major Cameron, R.A.

Secretary, Captain Ward, R.E.

Chief Astronomer, Captain Anderson, R.E.

Assistant-Astronomers, Captain Featherstonhaugh, R.E., and Lieutenant Galwey, R.E.

Surveyors, Colonel Forrest, Canadian Militia, Mr. A. L. Russell, and Sergeant Kay, R.E.

Topographer, Mr. East.

Surgeons, T. J. W. Burgess, M.D., and Thomas Millman, M.D.

Geologist, Mr. G. M. Dawson.

Commissary, L. W. Herchmer.

Veterinary Surgeon, Mr. W. G. Boswell.

Sub-Assistant Astronomers, Messrs. G. F. Burpee, W. F. King, W. A. Ashe, and G. C. Coster.

Fourteen members of the staff were Canadians, appointed by the Dominion Government. There were also in the permanent employment of the commission 44 non-commissioned officers and men of the Royal Engineers, 1 waggon-master, 12 dépôt keepers, and 13 officers' servants.

Early in September, 1872, the British and United States Commissioners met at Pembina, Dakota, and having agreed upon a plan of operations for the autumn, the British Commission was divided into the following working parties:— Three Astronomical parties; three Surveying parties; Staff. Each Astronomical party was equipped with a zenith telescope, a portable transit instrument, a sextant, two sidereal and one mean-time chronometers, a seven-inch transit theodolite, chain and arrows, etc. Each Surveying party had a five-inch transit theodolite, three prismatic compasses, chains and arrows, sketching cases, and mathematical instruments sufficient for plotting and traversing.

The following plan of operations for the autumn and winter was agreed upon between the Commissioners: The position of the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, as marked in 1826, was to be identified, and the necessary surveys of the shore were to be made; the meridian line from here south-

wards to the 49th parallel was to be traced and marked ; the intersection of the western shore of the Lake of the Woods by the said parallel was to be determined by joint astronomical observations ; and as many intermediate points as possible between the Lake of the Woods and the Red River were to be established, taking into consideration the nature of the country and the lateness of the season. The joint determination of the boundary at Pembina was also to be finished, and the surveys on each side of the line were to be pushed forward in an easterly direction.

The article of the Convention of the 20th October, 1818, under which the Boundary Commissions were constituted, is as follows:—

“Article II. It is agreed that a line drawn from the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods along the 49th parallel of north latitude : or, if the said point shall not be in the 49th parallel of north latitude, then, that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of His Britannic Majesty and those of the United States, and that the said line shall form the southern boundary of the said territories of His Britannic Majesty ; and the northern boundary of the territories of the United States from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains.”

In the beginning of October, the main bodies of both commissions started for the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, leaving one of the British astronomical parties at Pembina to finish the observations for latitude. The commissioners and the two chief astronomers camped at the north-west

angle, and a search was commenced for the reference monument, erected by the International Commissioners appointed under Article VII. of the Treaty of Ghent. "The most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods," mentioned in the 2nd Article of the Convention of 1818 (quoted above) was agreed and declared by these Commissioners to be at a specified distance measured in a given direction from the monument. At the same time, the latitude and longitude of the "north-west point" were given. It was evident that the first method of identifying the "north-west point" was far the more accurate, provided the reference monument could be found. The search for the reference monument occupied three days, and at the end of that time some Indians were found who said they could point it out. The Indians indicated a spot which was covered with water, about eighteen inches in depth, and here the remains of a square crib of logs were found. This was assumed to be the reference monument by the Commissioners, who proceeded to determine the position of the "north-west point" by laying off the six measured courses leading thereto, as specified by the Convention of 1818. The result of the observations for latitude did not agree with those taken by Dr. Tiarks in 1826, but the discrepancy was so small that the Commissioners did not deem it important, and the position of the north-west angle, as determined from the spot where the crib of logs was found, was finally agreed upon, and the work of measuring a meridian line, passing through the assumed "north-west point," was proceeded with. In their subsequent operations, the Commissioners may have been more particular in the minuter details of the work, but in the case of the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, it is held by many persons, who possess a knowledge of the sub-



ject, that their action was careless, and that they did not start their survey from the reference monument, but from an old crib of logs that had been used as the foundation of a dock by the builders of the Dawson Road. The location of the reference monument is in Monument Bay, considerably north of the point known as the north-west angle.

The work between the Lake of the Woods and the Red River was completed, so far as the cutting of the line and temporary marking was concerned. The placing of permanent monuments and iron pillars was postponed until the next year. By the first of April, 1873, the parties had all returned to Pembina, and were lodged in quarters built for them during the winter at Dufferin, on the west bank of the Red River, about two miles north of the boundary. Preparations for the summer's work were made during the following six weeks. Mr. Boswell arrived from the east with 180 horses for the use of the commission. The United States commission arrived at Pembina about the end of May, and the Commissioners agreed upon the plan of work on the western section. The permanent marks along the boundary were agreed to be placed at intervals of one mile, between the meridians of 96 degrees and 99 degrees of west longitude, which were the east and west limits of the Province of Manitoba,\* and at intervals of three miles in the country west of the 99th degree. The former set of marks were to be iron pillars firmly fixed in the ground; the latter were to be mounds of stones or, where no stones could be had, earth.

By the middle of July, the British and United States commissions had assembled at the north-east of Turtle Mountain, and the cavalry escort which accompanied the United States

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\*The boundary of Manitoba has since been extended west to the 102nd. meridian.

commission was also encamped there. Grass, wood and water were abundant, but the flies were intolerable. All hands were obliged to wear gauntlets and mosquito veils, and the horses and cattle suffered terribly, and the work was seriously impeded for a time by prairie fires. After passing westward of the Grand Coteau, they experienced a severe snow storm (September 22nd), which stopped work for a week. Here Captain Anderson, Chief Astronomer, who had kept in advance of the party all through the summer, struck north from the boundary in search of a suitable spot for the establishment of a dépôt for the next season's work. He chose Wood Mountain, as affording ample shelter, and being well wooded and watered. Then, turning eastward, he gathered in the different parties, en route, and all arrived at Dufferin on the 31st of October. The commissions had established twenty-one astronomical stations, and chained and marked 408 miles of the boundary during the summer. The country had also been surveyed for a width of 6 miles north and south of the boundary, each commission working on its own side. The British commission extended the survey from 6 miles to 15 in some places, and chained in all some 857 miles, covering with their work an area of 3,004 square miles. The commissariat arrangements were as follows: Along the entire distance travelled, 430 miles, four principal dépôts had been established, at intervals of about 90 miles. Provisions were conveyed to these dépôts by the commissariat waggons, thirty in number, and seventeen Red River carts. Sub-dépôts were established between the principal ones, and each party had one or two special waggons told off for keeping it supplied with food. The rations were liberal, as each man was allowed:—

DAILY :		3 oz. sugar.
1½ oz.	dried apples.	$\frac{1}{100}$ gal. syrup.
4 "	biscuits.	1 oz. tea.
16 "	flour.	½ " tobacco.
2½ "	cheese.	4 " beans.
1 "	oatmeal.	
		WEEKLY :
16 "	meat.	½ oz. mustard.
½ "	pepper.	$\frac{1}{200}$ gals. pickles, or
⅓ "	salt.	¼ pint of vinegar.
$\frac{2}{3}$ "	soap.	

Work was resumed from Wood Mountain, westward, on the 20th June, 1874, the plan of work being similar to that of 1873, except that the six-mile belt survey was reduced to three miles. At Milk River the first buffalo was seen in July, and large bands of Sioux and Assiniboines. The Indians were friendly, and made no objection to the work being carried through their country, and, at the end of July, the commission reached the Sweet Grass Hills, or three Buttes, from the western one of which they gained their first view of the Rocky Mountains. Just south of the boundary of this point, they found the mutilated bodies of twenty Crow Indians, who had been killed by the Blackfeet in the preceding autumn. On August 27th, both commissions reached the terminal monument in the Rocky Mountains by the Kootenay Pass, and the International Boundary was completed from ocean to ocean.

The united parties, numbering 167 officers and men, and about 200 horses and ponies, with 100 waggons, carts, etc., now turned eastward, and reached Dufferin on October 11th, after a march of 860 miles, which they had accomplished in forty-three days, including halts. After the return to Duf-

ferin, the British commission completed the southern boundary of Manitoba by setting up iron pillars where temporary mounds and posts had been placed two years previously. It was their duty to place one-half of these pillars—every other one—the United States Commission to place the other half; a work which was completed in 1875.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### THE MOUNTED POLICE FORCE.

THE placing of a Police Force in the North-West Territories was recommended by members of the North-West Council, and by several other persons acquainted with the country and its necessities. In 1870, Mr. Donald A. Smith had strongly urged upon the Government the advisability of sending in a force to keep the Indians in check and to preserve law and order in the country. In 1872, Capt. Louis De Plainval, who was then in command of the Provincial Police in Manitoba, prepared a complete plan for the organization, equipment, and distributions of a mounted constabulary in the territories, and submitted the same to Sir John A. Macdonald, who was so well pleased with it that he resolved on its adoption, and it was at one time intended to place De Plainval in command of the force.

On the 23rd May, 1873, a bill for the administration of justice and the establishment of a Police Force in the North-West Territories was assented to, and from it we give the following clauses:—

The Governor-in-Council may constitute a Police Force in and for the North-West Territories, and the Governor may from time to time as may be found necessary, appoint by commission a Commissioner of Police and one or more Superintendents of Police, together with a Paymaster, Surgeon, and Veterinary Surgeon, each of whom shall hold office during pleasure.



The Commissioner of Police shall perform such duties and be subject to the control, orders and authority of such person or persons as may from time to time be named by the Governor-in-Council for that purpose.

The Governor-in-Council may from time to time authorize the Commissioner of Police to appoint by warrant under his hand, such number of constables and sub-constables as he may think proper, not exceeding in the whole, three hundred men ; and such number thereof shall be mounted as the Governor-in-Council may at any time direct.

No person shall be appointed to the Police Force unless he be of a sound constitution, able to ride, active and able-bodied, of good character, and between the ages of eighteen and forty years ; nor unless he be able to read or write either the English or French language.

No person shall exercise any office in the said Force, until he shall have taken the oath of allegiance and the following oath of office : " I, A. B., solemnly swear that I will faithfully, diligently, and impartially execute and perform the duties and office of ..... in the Police Force of the North-West Territories, and will well and truly obey and perform all lawful orders or instructions which I shall receive as such ..... without fear, favor, or affection of or towards any person or party whomsoever. So help me God." And such oath may be taken by the Commissioner of Police, before any Judge, Stipendiary Magistrate, or Justice of the Peace having jurisdiction in the North-West Territories, and by any other member of the Police Force, before the Commissioner of Police, or any person having such jurisdiction as aforesaid ; and such oaths shall be retained by the Commissioner as part of the records of his office.

The Commissioner and every Superintendent of Police shall be *ex-officio* a Justice of the Peace ; and every constable and sub-constable of the Force shall be a constable in and for the whole of the North-West Territories ; and may execute the office in any part thereof, and in Manitoba, in the cases hereinbefore mentioned and provided for.

Every constable and sub-constable shall, upon appointment to the said Force sign articles of engagement, and any penalty which may be therein assigned may be enforced ; and one condition in the said articles shall always be that he shall serve for the period of three years, and shall not leave the Force or withdraw from his duties unless he be dismissed or discharged therefrom, or shall have previously given six months notice in writing to the Commissioner. The engagement shall be contracted to the Commissioner, and may be enforced by the Commissioner for the time being.

The Governor-in-Council may, from and out of any of the lands of the Dominion in the Province of Manitoba, or in the North-West Territories, make a free grant, not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres, to any

constable or sub-constable of the said Force, who, at the expiration of three years of continuous service in the said Force, shall be certified by the Commissioner of Police to have conducted himself satisfactorily, and to have efficiently and ably performed the duties of his office during the said term of three years

The Governor-in-Council shall appoint the place at which the headquarters of the Force shall from time to time be kept, and the office of the Commissioner shall be kept there, and the same may be at any place in the North-West Territories or the Province of Manitoba.

It shall be the duty of the Force :—

To perform all duties which now are or shall be hereafter assigned to constables in relation to the preservation of the peace, the prevention of crime, and of offences against the laws and ordinances in force in the North-West Territories, and the apprehension of criminals and offenders and others who may be lawfully taken into custody.

To attend upon any Judge, Stipendiary Magistrate or Justice of the Peace, when thereunto specially required, and, subject to the orders of the Commissioner or Superintendent, to execute all warrants and perform all duties and services in relation thereto which may, under this Act, or the laws and ordinances in force in the North-West Territories, lawfully be performed by constables.

To perform all duties which may be lawfully performed by constables in relation to the escort and conveyance of convicts and other prisoners, or lunatics, to or from any courts, places of punishment or confinement, asylums, or other places

And for these purposes, and in the performance of all the duties assigned to them by or under the authority of this Act, they shall have all the powers, authority, protection and privileges which any constable now has or shall hereafter by law have.

The Governor-in-Council may, from time to time, make rules and regulations for any of the following purposes, viz : To regulate the number of the Force, not exceeding, in the whole, the number of three hundred men as hereinbefore provided ; to prescribe the number of men who shall be mounted on horseback ; to regulate and prescribe the clothing, arms, training and discipline of the Police Force ; to regulate and prescribe the duties and authorities of the Commissioner and Superintendents of the Force, and the several places, at or near which, the same or the Force, or any portions thereof, may from time to time be stationed ; and generally all and every such matters and things for the good government, discipline and guidance of the Force, as are not inconsistent with this Act ; and such rules and regulations may impose penalties not exceeding, in any case, thirty days' pay of the offenders, for any contravention thereof, and may direct that such penalty, when incurred, may be deducted from the offender's

pay ; they may determine what officer shall have power to declare such penalty incurred, and to impose the same ; and they shall have force as if enacted by law.

All pecuniary penalties so imposed shall form a fund to be managed by the Commissioner, with the approval of the Governor-in-Council ; and be applicable to the payment of such rewards for good conduct or meritorious services, as may be established by the Commissioner.

Any member of the Force may be suspended from his charge, or dismissed by the Commissioner, or by any Superintendent to whom the Commissioner shall have delegated the power to do so ; and any Superintendent may be suspended from office by the Commissioner until the pleasure of the Governor-in-Council shall be known ; and every such suspension or dismissal shall take effect from the time it shall be made known, either orally or in writing, to the party suspended or dismissed.

Any Superintendent or any member of the Force suspended or dismissed, shall forthwith deliver up to the Commissioner, or to a Superintendent, or to any constable authorized to receive the same, his clothing, arms, accoutrements, and all property of the Crown in his possession, as a member of the Force, or used for police purposes ; or in case of his refusing or neglecting so to do, shall incur a penalty of fifty dollars.

Whenever the Commissioner shall deem it desirable to make or cause to be made any special enquiry into the conduct of any Superintendent or any member of the Police Force, or into any complaint against any of them, he or the Superintendent whom he may appoint for that purpose may examine any person on oath or affirmation on any matters relative to such enquiry, and may administer such oath or affirmation.

If any person shall unlawfully dispose of or receive, buy or sell, or have in his possession without lawful cause, or shall refuse to deliver up when thereunto lawfully required, any horse, vehicle, harness, arms, accoutrements, clothing, or other thing used for police purposes, such person shall thereby incur a penalty not exceeding double the value thereof, in the discretion of the Magistrate before whom he is convicted.

It shall be lawful for the Governor-in-Council, from time to time, to fix the sums to be annually paid to the Commissioner, Superintendents, and other officers of the said Force, regard being had to the number of constables and sub-constables, from time to time, actually organized and enrolled, and the consequent responsibility attaching to their offices aforesaid, respectively, and to the nature of the duty or service, and amount of labor devolved upon them, but such sums shall not be less or exceed the amounts following, that is to say :—

Commissioner of Police, not exceeding	- - - - -	\$2,600
and not less than	- - - - -	\$2,000

Each Superintendent, not exceeding - - - -	\$1,400
and not less than - - - -	\$1,000
Paymaster, not exceeding - - - -	900
Quartermaster, not exceeding - - - -	500
Paymaster, if acting also as Quartermaster - -	1,400
Surgeon, not exceeding - - - -	1,400
and not less than - - - -	\$1,000
Veterinary Surgeon, not exceeding - - - -	600
and not less than - - - -	\$400

And each constable shall be paid not exceeding the sum of one dollar per day ; and each sub-constable shall be paid not exceeding the sum of seventy-five cents per day.

The Governor-in-Council may, in lieu of the appointment of a Surgeon, or of a Veterinary Surgeon, authorize arrangements to be made with any person or Veterinary Surgeon to perform the duties of Surgeon or Veterinary Surgeon for the said Force, as to any portions or detachments thereof, and may pay reasonable and proper remuneration for any services so rendered.

The Governor-in-Council may also from time to time regulate and prescribe the amounts to be paid for the purchase of horses, vehicles, harness, saddlery, clothing, arms, and accoutrements or articles necessary for the said Force ; and also the expenses of travelling and of rations, or of boarding or billeting the Force, and forage for the horses.

The Governor-in-Council may make regulations for the quartering, billeting, and cantoning of the Force, or any portions or detachments thereof, and for the furnishing of boats, carriages, vehicles of transport, horses, and other conveyances for their transport and use, and for giving adequate compensation therefor ; and may by such regulations impose fines not exceeding two hundred dollars for breach of any regulation aforesaid, or for refusing to billet any of the said Force, or to furnish transport as herein mentioned. But no such regulations shall authorize the quartering or billeting of any of the Force in any nunnery or convent of any religious order of females.

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The Department of Justice shall have the control and management of the Police Force, and of all matters connected therewith ; but the Governor-in-Council may at any time order that the same shall be transferred to any other department of the Civil Service of Canada, and the same shall accordingly by such order be so transferred to, and be under the control and management of such other Department.

The Commissioner, and every Superintendent of Police, shall be *ex officio* a Justice of the Peace within the Province of Manitoba ; and the



constables and sub-constables of the Police Force shall also have and exercise within the Province of Manitoba all the powers and authority, rights and privileges by law appertaining to constables under the laws of the Dominion, for the purpose of carrying the same into effect.

The Governor-in-Council may from time to time enter into arrangements with the Government of the Province of Manitoba for the use or employment of the Police Force in aiding the administration of justice in that Province, and in carrying into effect the laws of the Legislature thereof; and may in any such arrangement agree and determine the amount of money which shall be paid by the Province of Manitoba in respect of any such services of the said Police Force.

It was not, however, until September, 1873, that active steps were taken for the organization of the Force, and as it was the intention of the Government to send the men by the Dawson Road, but little time was left for the selection of candidates for enlistment. In consequence of this, a number of inferior men found their way into the ranks of the first detachment sent to the North-West. In October, 1873, about one hundred and fifty men, in small, straggling parties, found their way into the Province, and were quartered at the Stone Fort, much inconvenience and discomfort being caused by the fact of a great portion of their uniform and winter clothing being frozen in on the Dawson route. About this time, Colonel French was appointed to the position of Commissioner, and in January he made a full report on the state of the Force and its requirements, and later on in the spring he communicated his views to the Government on the question of supplies and transport.

At that time the whiskey traders in the North-West were playing sad havoc with the Indians, and it was decided by the authorities at Ottawa not only to raise the Force to its full strength of 300 men, but also to thoroughly equip it for service. Arrangements were at once made for the supply of arms, ammunition, stores of every description, field-guns,



horses, etc., etc. The men raised in 1874 were of a superior class, and most of them had had experience in military service, some having been in the regulars and others in the militia. But a great many were indifferent horsemen, and as the Act required that each man should be able to ride, some trouble was experienced in breaking the men into a knowledge of horsemanship. Some time, therefore, was spent in Toronto, where the men assembled, in drilling them, and on the 6th June, 1874, the force, consisting of 16 officers, 201 men, and 244 horses, left that city *via* the United States, for the North-West. Passing through Detroit and Chicago, the force arrived on 10th June at St. Paul, where a day's rest was enjoyed, and on the 12th it reached Fargo, the end of railway travel, and, having disembarked, prepared for the overland journey across the prairie. On the 15th the journey was recommenced, and having a number of spare horses, quick time was made until, on the 19th June, the whole party arrived at Dufferin, on the boundary line. During the trip through the United States, the conduct of the men had been most exemplary, and no accidents of any consequence occurred, so that the expedition, on the whole, proved a success. But on the night after their arrival at Pembina, the men had a most trying experience of the difficulties and dangers they were likely to encounter in their new life. A fearful thunderstorm broke over the camp, during which the whole band of horses stampeded, breaking from the corral in which they were placed, snapping halters, picquet ropes, etc., and even knocking over waggons in their mad flight. A few of the men were severely injured in endeavoring to stop the frightened animals, and several days were lost in looking for and bringing back the horses to camp.

After this the camp settled down, preparing for their march to the far west, and on the 10th July, a start was made in that direction, there having been in the meantime only one or two desertions. The train, when fully on the way, was probably the largest that ever passed over the plains, it being, when closed up, a mile and a half long, and sometimes, when straggling, it was fully five miles in length from advanced to rear guard. It was an astonishing cavalcade, with its armed men in bright uniforms, its carts and waggons laden with supplies, among which were ploughs, harrows, mowing machines and other agricultural implements. Alongside the carts, droves of cows, calves, and oxen were driven, and the question which would have puzzled a stranger was, what could be the mission of the expedition—was it for peace or war. It was for both, for fighting, if necessary, but in any case to establish posts in the interior.

We have not space to give the details of the tedious and difficult march of the force, but on the 15th October, it reached the Hudson's Bay Company's post on the Qu'Appelle, where the party was hospitably received by Mr. Maclean, the officer in charge. The men had travelled 363 miles in 15½ days, or an average of about 24 miles a day, without meeting a single human habitation on the way. From Qu'Appelle, the force made its way to Fort Pelly, arriving there on the 21st October, after much suffering from cold. There a division was left in charge, and the route once more taken for Fort Ellice, where a few men were stationed, and the remainder of the force started back on the return to Dufferin, arriving there in November.

During the time the expedition was absent, all sorts of rumors were indulged in by some of the Canadian newspapers

to the effect that disaster and death had overtaken the force. That they suffered a good deal is undeniable, but, notwithstanding the scarcity of hay, from prairie-fires, and the death of a number of animals from cold and other causes, the expedition was on the whole successful.

It was the commencement of the enforcement of law and order in the North-West Territory. For the credit of the Dominion and of humanity, it was absolutely necessary that a stop should be put to the disgraceful scenes that were daily being enacted on the Bow and Belly rivers, and the Cypress Hills. As the work of preventing lawlessness and violence in the North-West was to be entrusted to the Mounted Police, it had been decided to raise the force to its full strength, and on its arrival at Dufferin it was divided into six divisions or troops, and started on the expedition which we have briefly referred to, and which veterans might well have faltered at. Tied down by no stringent rules or articles of war, but only by the silken cord of a civil contract, the men gave little cause for complaint during the arduous journey. Day after day on the march, night after night on picquet or guard, and working at high pressure during four months, from daylight until dark, not a man grumbled or shirked his duty. The fact of horses and oxen failing, and dying for want of food, never disheartened or stopped them, but pushing on on foot with dogged determination, they carried through the service required of them, under difficulties which could only be appreciated by those who witnessed them. Thus, early in the day, did the Mounted Police earn a name for themselves as brave and steadfast soldiers, a name which they have sustained until the present day.

Lieut.-Colonel French remained in command of the force

until 1876, when, upon leaving the North-West, the following address was presented to him by a number of the non-commissioned officers:—

NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES,  
Head-quarters North-West Mounted Police,  
Swan River Barracks, 26th July, 1876.

*To Lieut.-Col. French, Commissioner, North-West Mounted Police.*

SIR—We the undersigned non-commissioned officers of the North-West Mounted Police stationed at Swan River, beg most respectfully to ask your acceptance of the accompanying gold watch, as a slight expression of our respect and esteem.

We wish to take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to you for the invariable impartiality and justice we have always experienced at your hands, and also for the support we have always received from you in the execution of our duty during the time we have had the honor of serving under your command, and to express our great regret, both individually and collectively, that circumstances have arisen which have occasioned your withdrawing from the Force. This expression of our feelings has not been called forth solely by recent occurrences, but until the present time we have had no appropriate opportunity of testifying our full sense of the respect in which you are held by us.

In wishing yourself, Mrs. French and family, health and happiness in the future, we venture to hope that your thoughts will turn hereafter not unfrequently, with kindly feelings to a Force, your departure from which is regretted by none more sincerely than by your obedient servants, Samuel B. Steele, James R. Mitchell, Jos. Price, Frank Norman, Samuel Horner, Cuthbert R. Saffery, William Tuke, Charles E. Pulman, Cornelius Knight, Thos. H. Lake, Alex. N. DesForges, George D. Gopsill, Hugh Beaton, James Gille, Benjamin Welstead, William Parker, Peter McDonald, Cartney Woods, William Latimer.

The men then presented Mrs. French with a handsome silver breakfast-service, accompanied by an appropriate address; and in this happy manner was severed the connection of the first Commissioner with the Mounted Police Force.

The first attempt at farming around the posts of the North-West Mounted Police, was in 1877, when twenty acres around Fort McLeod were sown with oats, and five acres in potatoes. The crops were good, and it was hoped that the great cost of

forage at distant posts might be reduced by growing oats in the territory instead of importing them.

The strength and distribution of the force in November, 1877, were as follow :—

				Constables of all ranks.	Horses.
Fort McLeod,	-	-	-	113	133
Fort Walsh,	-	-	-	89	55
Wood Mountain,	-	-	-	17	15
Pinto Horse Butte,	-	-	-	6	13
Milk River,	-	-	-	3	5
Fort Calgary,	-	-	-	27	43
Fort Saskatchewan,	-	-	-	23	20
Battleford,	-	-	-	14	6
Swan River,	-	-	-	24	15
Shoal Lake,	-	-	-	7	7
Qu'Appelle,	-	-	-	6	3
				<hr/> 329	<hr/> 315

The accommodation afforded by the different buildings or posts established in the North-West was at the close of 1877 as follows :—Swan River, 150 men and horses ; Battleford, 50 ; Fort McLeod, 100 ; Fort Calgary, 25 ; Fort Saskatchewan, 25 ; Shoal Lake, 7. The buildings at Swan River and Battleford were erected by the Department of Public Works, those at the other posts by the Mounted Police.

The expenditure during 1877 for the service was \$329,493.05, or an average of \$1,000 per man and horse. Enquiries with reference to the cost of pay and maintenance of United States troops show that the cost of the Mounted Police was at that time fully one-third less per man and horse than the cost of a cavalry soldier of the United States and his horse.



It will be our pleasure in a later chapter to recount the many services rendered by this noble body of men from the time of its organization under Colonel French until the present day.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

### EXPLORATIONS AND RAILWAY SURVEYS.

ALTHOUGH several books had been written on the North-West, and the Government possessed a varied mass of information regarding it, the people of Canada knew very little about the vast prairie regions prior to 1857, when the "Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition" was organized under the leadership of Professor Henry Youle Hind, with Mr. Simon J. Dawson as associate chief of staff. The Government confided to Professor Hind the topographical and geological portions of the work, and Mr. Dawson was given charge of the more detailed work of surveying the various routes traversed. The immediate result of the labors of these gentlemen was the bringing into prominent notice the grand possibilities of the Canadian North-West. The publication of their reports in 1858-9, awakened a general interest in the country, and led to the opening up of communication between the eastern Provinces and the Red River Settlement, by means of the "Dawson Road," and eventually, to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Their descriptions of the salt regions of Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis, the coal deposits on the Souris and Saskatchewan rivers, the wonderful fertility of the soil, and the facilities for transportation by means of the numerous lakes and rivers, were all in the nature of revelations to the inhabitants of older Canada,



Hon. James McKay.



to whom the North-West had been a *terra incognita*, only thought of as the home of the wandering Indian, the pasturage of the buffalo, and the fur preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. Dawson made a favorable report on the feasibility of a route from Lake Superior to Fort Garry, in 1858. He recommended the construction of a waggon road from Thunder Bay to Dog Lake (Shebandowan), 28 miles; across the prairie and Savanne portages, 5 miles; past the twelve portages on the Seine River, 7 miles, and from Lac Plat (or Shoal Lake), *via* Pointe de Chêne, to Fort Garry,  $91\frac{1}{2}$  miles, a total of waggon road of  $131\frac{1}{2}$  miles. In connection with the roads, he advised the placing of steamboats on Dog Lake, Savanne River, Lac des Mille Lacs, Seine River, Rainy Lake and River, and Lake of the Woods. He estimated the total distance, by land and water, from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry, at 499 miles. This amphibious highway was to be improved later on by the construction of a railway for 195 miles, from Thunder Bay to Rainy Lake, a canal and locks at Fort Francis, on the Rainy River, and  $91\frac{1}{2}$  miles of railway from the north-west angle of Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry. The waggon roads alluded to were afterwards made, partly by Government contractors and partly by the soldiers of the Wolseley Expedition, and were used for a time for the transportation of immigrants, but were abandoned shortly before the Pembina Branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway was built.

Further exploration of the North-West was suspended for some years, until after the formation of the Dominion, and the cession of the country to Canada. In 1871, a reconnaissance of the country lying west of the great lakes, was made at the instance of the Dominion Government, to ascertain the possi-



bility of constructing a railway to the Pacific coast. The exploratory survey was made under direction of Mr. Sandford Fleming, Chief Engineer, by a numerous staff of engineers and surveyors, who traversed the country in every direction in search of the most eligible line for the great trans-continental railway. The work undertaken was a stupendous one, it was no less than the exploration of an area embracing fifty-degrees of longitude and ten degrees of latitude, or, put in other terms, a length of twenty-seven hundred miles, by a breadth ranging from three to five hundred miles. An area about equal in extent, and occupying, geographically, the same position as France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Prussia, and Russia in Europe. The eastern and western portions of this vast territory presented innumerable obstacles and difficulties to the surveyor, while, in comparison, the central or prairie region was easy of access and opposed no serious obstacle to the progress of the work. The Government very wisely left Mr. Fleming entirely untrammelled in entrusting him with the work of exploration, merely directing him to spare no effort to discover with the least possible delay, a practical route for a railway from Ottawa to the Pacific. In initiating the work, Mr. Fleming laid down the following principles for the guidance of his staff:—

First—That every effort should be directed to the discovery of a line through the woodland region (from Ottawa to the Red River), which would prove the shortest and best possible between the existing railway system in the two elder provinces and the Province of Manitoba.

Second—That the above line should touch, or by a branch connect with, Lake Superior, and constitute, as nearly as possible, the shortest, and cheapest outlet for transport of natural

products from the prairie region to the navigable waters of the St. Lawrence.

Third—That the greatest possible energy should be brought to bear on the work of exploration in the western region (the Rocky Mountains), in order to discover, with as little delay as possible, a practicable line for the railway through the Rocky Mountain zone; a line which would prove the shortest and least expensive; which would best subserve the interests of the country, and lead to the most eligible harbor on the Pacific coast.

Fourth—That the route for the railway through the prairie region, while connecting with the lines in the eastern and western sections, so as to reduce the distances between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans to a minimum, should be projected to avoid the most formidable river crossings, and approach the rich deposits of coal and iron, at the same time to be conveniently near the large tracts of land available for settlement.

It would be impossible to enumerate the difficulties and vicissitudes encountered by the different engineering parties in the prosecution of the work confided to them in the space at our command; it would require a volume, and a large one, to recount the many instances of individual and collective heroism which the exigencies of the service continually called for, and which were nobly responded to by the brave fellows in the performance of their duty. Deeds, as worthy of record as any ever done in battle, were of almost daily occurrence on the C.P.R. surveys, and although they have not yet formed the subject of romance or poem, the heroes of them can look with pride to the result of their pluck and endurance: the Canadian Pacific Railway—a lasting monument to Canadian enterprise and patriotism.

The work of locating the line through the eastern section, from Ottawa to Red River, was arduous in the extreme. The country was practically unknown, and, away from the shores of the lakes and the canoe routes of the fur traders, had never been traversed by civilized man. Its rugged and broken character, covered with dense forest and impenetrable undergrowth, and intersected by innumerable swamps, muskegs, lakes and streams, rendered it most difficult of access, and the surveyors had literally to hew their way from point to point—a tiresome and laborious progress, rendered more irksome by the myriad insect pests that beset them during the summer, and the rigors of the semi-arctic winters. The location of a pass through the Rocky Mountains was attended with similar difficulties. All that was known of the country, or very nearly all, was contained in the report of Captain Palliser, presented to the Imperial Government, in which he had questioned the possibility of constructing a railway through mountains within the limits of British territory. With only this discouraging data to work on, the Canadian engineers entered the field, to conquer Nature in her most formidable aspect, and give one more proof of Richelieu's famous epigram:—"In the lexicon of youth, which fate reserves for a bright manhood, there is no such word as fail!"

The prairie country opposed no very serious obstacle to the work, yet those who performed it were beset with many difficulties and dangers, which were cheerfully encountered and bravely overcome.

Attached to the engineering staff were specialists, whose duty it was to study the botanical, geological, climatological, and topographical features of the country, both along the proposed line of railway and in the tributary territory. The

location of a telegraph line was also undertaken, and such a line was constructed and put in operation from Winnipeg to Battleford, long in advance of the railway. Even at that time, Mr. Sandford Fleming outlined a plan for a Canadian Pacific oceanic cable, connecting the Dominion with China, Japan, India and Australia, which he pointed out would be of great importance to the entire British empire.

The main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway from the Red River westward, was originally surveyed from Selkirk in a north-westerly direction, crossing the narrows of Lake Manitoba and the Battle River at Battleford, at its junction with the North Saskatchewan, thence in a direction a little north of west, to a point on the Athabasca River, where it skirts the Foot Hills, thence *via* Jasper House, through the Tete Jaune Cache, to the Pacific coast. Another line, which ran from Selkirk due west to the boundary of Manitoba, and thence north-westerly to Nut Hill station on the main line, was projected, but also abandoned, as it was not calculated to serve the settlements along the Assiniboine River, at High Bluff, Portage la Prairie, and further west. The difficulties met with in the mountain region were so great, and the cost of construction appeared so enormous, that the engineers were put to their wit's end to overcome what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles. The problem of discovering a pass through the mountains that would partake of the three requisites of directness, convenience and comparative cheapness, was before them, and all their energies were bent to solve it. At the end of 1875, no less than thirteen different lines had been run through the valleys of British Columbia, eleven of which converged from their coast termini to the Yellow Head Pass, and the end was not yet; year after year the work went

on, line after line was located and abandoned, till on October 4th, 1879, an Order-in-Council was passed, adopting the route *via* the Yellow Head Pass to Burrard Inlet.

A regular system of station grounds, town sites, and farm lots, was outlined in connection with the location of the main line through the prairie section. Stations were to be ten miles apart, and each was to be surrounded by a town plot and a group of park lots and market gardens. Farms were to be surveyed between stations on each side of the right of way, with their rear ends to the railway line, and fronting on a road allowance at one mile from the track. It was suggested that these farms should be withheld from sale until all the other farming lands outside the two mile railway belt had been taken up, and when sold special stipulations should be imposed on the purchasers, for the maintenance of the railway fences, planting of trees, or other provisions to prevent snow drifts on the line, and also the prevention of fires from sparks from the locomotives. But this plan was never adopted, and, in fact, the whole line, the directions of which we have described, west of the Red River, was subsequently abandoned on the formation of the present Canadian Pacific Railway Company, whose operations are made the subject of a separate chapter.

In locating the line of railway so far north of its present position, the Chief Engineer was actuated by several motives. He desired to open up to settlement what in his judgment, guided by the opinions of his chiefs of staff, was the most fertile and promising of the prairie region. He intended that the railway should touch, at convenient points, the lakes and waterways which promised facilities for traffic in connection with it. He wished to afford access and easy and cheap trans-



portation to and from the coal and iron districts of the Saskatchewan and Peace Rivers, and to avoid, as much as possible, heavy grades and extensive bridge work. That his judgment was overruled, and the southern route adopted, must not be taken as a reflection on his skill, but must be attributed to its true cause, the necessity which presented itself of pushing the road through the prairie section by the most direct line, in order to connect with the eastern and western sections, within the time limited for the completion of the whole work.

One marked effect of the numerous exploratory surveys made west of the Red River, was the distribution of settlement along each of the lines laid down. The settlers watched every move of the engineers, and wherever a stake was planted, a squatter was almost sure to be found, calmly awaiting events in the shape of the iron horse, and a railway station on his quarter section.

Besides the explorations made for the location of the line of railway, a great amount of work was done in taking levels, and ascertaining the value of the various lakes and rivers as navigable waterways. The Red River, Assiniboine, and Saskatchewan (north and south branches), were examined and reported on. Lakes Manitoba, Winnipeg, and Winnipegosis, were explored, as well as their connections and plans for utilizing them as feeders and accessories to the railway were formulated. It was ascertained that the main Saskatchewan is navigable, to properly-constructed steamboats, from Grand Rapids to Edmonton, and on the south branch, from the Forks to Blackfoot Crossing. It was suggested that the great impediment to navigation, the Grand Rapids, might be avoided altogether by establishing communication through Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis.

The value of the mass of information gathered by the railway engineers and surveyors in the course of their explorations is beyond estimate. To them we owe the greater portion of the knowledge we possess of the resources of the North-West, so that, even in considering the fact that a great deal of their work was rendered nugatory by the abandonment of the northern route, we must acknowledge that their services were invaluable to the country at large in furnishing information regarding our natural riches, which many years of less concerted action might have been necessary to reveal.

The cost of the surveys was considerable. Up to December 31st, 1879, the explorations and surveys had cost \$3,119,617.

During the explorations and surveys, accidents were necessarily of common occurrence; many were of a serious nature, and a number were fatal. On August 7th, 1871, an exploring party was hemmed in by a forest fire on the north shore of Lake Superior, between the Nepigon River and Long Lake, and seven men were burned to death. May 20th, 1872, four men were drowned by the upsetting of a canoe on Lake Temiscamingue. On November 26th of the same year, three men connected with the surveys were lost in the wreck of the steamer *Mary Ward*. Seven other deaths were reported in 1872 and 1873, of whom four were drowned by the upsetting of canoes or boats, one by breaking through the ice, and two died very suddenly from hemorrhagic scurvy, the result of hardship and exposure. In all these cases, the Government granted to the wives or families of the deceased a sum equivalent to eighteen months' pay.

It is written somewhere that for every trial endured, no matter how arduous, in the performance of duty, a compensa-

tion has been provided in the consciousness of the performer's having done his duty well and faithfully, and with all the strength and skill which he possessed. The Canadian Pacific surveyors had their intervals of compensation from the *peine fort et dure*, which was their daily portion while in the field. After a hard day's work, tramping through almost impenetrable underbrush, wading through muskegs, fording torrents, or climbing precipitous mountains, but always pushing onward, no matter what the obstacle encountered—after such a day—when the rough fare had been disposed of, and the party assembled around the camp-fire to exchange experiences, and enjoy the soothing delights of a pipe of good T. & B. tobacco—the past was forgotten, and laughter and song awoke the echoes that possibly had never before responded to a human voice. Such moments will live in the memories of the survivors of the Canadian Pacific surveyors long after the vicissitudes of the old days have been blotted out. The merry songs and ringing choruses that were sung around those camp-fires were, in many instances, composed by some member of the party, and therefore the more highly prized by his comrades. We deem it appropriate to reproduce one of those, written by R. La Touche Tupper, which was very popular, and was sung in every camp from Lake Nepigon to the Yellow Head Pass :—

## THE C. P. S.

*AIR—Les Deux Gendarmes.*

Far away from those we love the dearest,  
Who long and wish for home,  
The thought of whom each lone heart cheereth,  
As 'mid these North-west wilds we roam,  
Yet still each one performs his duty  
And gaily sings :

Tra la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la

Hurra ! the jolly C. P. S. !

They're at home upon Superior's shore,

Hurra ! we'll drink to th-m success,

And a safe return once more

From all parts of our new Dominion,

As strangers each the other met,

We'll strive for each one's good opinion,

And part with nothing but regret.

And as we trudge along the line, boys,

We'll gaily sing :

Tra la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la,

Hurra ! the jolly C. P. S. !

In the woods or prairies, wild and free,

Hurra ! we'll drink to them success,

Wherever they may be.

When home in spring we are returning,

A tired and weather-beaten band,

We'll find the lamp of love still burning

For us, by some fair, constant hand.

For wives and sweethearts—cheer them hearty—

And gaily sing :

Tra la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la,

Hurra ! the Jolly C. P. S.

Hurra ! for those at home we love so dear,

May Heaven each loved one there bless—

For "sweet home" we'll raise a cheer.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY, AND DEFEAT OF THE MACDONALD ADMINISTRATION.

THE discovery of gold in the Fraser and Cariboo districts caused a rush of adventurers to British Columbia, and as these increased in number, and mining became an important industry, the Government of the colony were obliged to organize a system of public highways from the coast into the heart of the mountains. A waggon road, 378 miles in length, was constructed, in the face of very serious engineering difficulties, from Yale, the head of navigation on the Fraser River, across the Cascade Mountains to Cariboo, and a branch road from Clinton to Douglas, *via* Lillooet, 107 miles. This road, opened in 1864, surmounting the Cascades, entered the great plateau which lies between them and the Rocky Mountains, and, as early as 1864, Mr. Alfred Waddington pointed out the feasibility of continuing the road through the Rocky Mountain Range, at its northern extremity, and thus securing an easy means of communication with the great plains stretching eastward to the Red River. As we have seen, Mr. S. J. Dawson reported upon a combined land and water route from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry, in 1858, and his suggestion was acted upon ten years later, when the Government of Canada commenced the construction of the "Dawson Road," the Red River



settlers undertaking to build the portion of the road between Fort Garry and the Lake of the Woods. They were, however, relieved of this obligation, in consideration of their having lost their entire crops through the ravages of grasshoppers, in 1868.

The making of these roads, by which the western prairies were made accessible from the eastern Provinces, and from British Columbia, was the forerunner of the more important undertaking—a railway from ocean to ocean, entirely within Canadian territory. The scheme of confederation of the British North American colonies, which was at that day an absorbing subject of discussion, threw a new light on the resources and future possibilities of the Dominion, and the prospect of an inter-oceanic railway began to be spoken of by a few earnest, patriotic men, who were regarded as dreamers. The difficulties—natural and financial—that stood in the way of such an undertaking were considered insurmountable by the majority, but the enthusiasts continued to advocate it, convinced that upon its accomplishment depended largely the development of the natural resources and the consolidation of the power of the Dominion. Mr. Alfred Waddington was an earnest and untiring advocate of the great work. He had constructed waggon roads, at his own expense, through the wildest mountain regions of British Columbia, and he felt that the building of the railway was far from being an impossible project, but, when properly understood, would become a simple question of expenditure. He calculated the cost of the railway at thirty-two million pounds, but he urged that this amount could be easily raised by subscription, if the project were endorsed by the Imperial Government, and assisted by a liberal land grant from the Dominion.

The following extract from the report of the United States Senate Committee on Pacific railroads, dated 19th February, 1869, shows conclusively that the Americans were alive to the importance of a transcontinental railway, and had determined to forestall Canada in any undertaking of the kind that she might contemplate :—"The line of the North Pacific road runs for 1,500 miles near the British possessions, and when built, will drain the agricultural products of the rich Saskatchewan and Red River districts east of the mountains, and the gold country on the Fraser, Thompson, and Kootenay rivers west of the mountains. From China (Canton) to Liverpool, it is 1,500 miles nearer by the 49th parallel of latitude, than by the way of San Francisco and New York. This advantage in securing the overland trade from Asia will not be thrown away by the English, unless it is taken away by our first building the North Pacific road, establishing mercantile agencies at Puget Sound, fixing mercantile capital there, and getting possession on land, and on the ocean, of all the machinery of the new commerce between Asia and Europe. The opening by us first of a North Pacific Railroad seals the destiny of the British possessions west of the 91st meridian. They will become so Americanized in interests and feelings that they will be in effect severed from the New Dominion, and the question of their annexation will be but a question of time."

By the terms by which British Columbia entered the Dominion, it was provided that the Government of the Dominion should secure, simultaneously with the Union (July 20th, 1871), "the commencement of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards

the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada: and further, to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of the Union."

This agreement committed the Dominion to the building of a transcontinental railway, and we have shown how energetically the work of exploration and survey was undertaken and carried out, but the actual construction of the road was unavoidably delayed beyond the terms of the Union. There were several causes for the delay—the difficulties encountered by the surveyors in locating the line in the country north of Lake Superior; the finding of a suitable pass and gradient through the Rocky Mountains, and the unwillingness of capitalists to invest in such a gigantic work, were the principal ones. During the session of 1871, Mr. Waddington had a Bill introduced in Parliament chartering a Pacific railway, but he did not press its passage through the House. He associated with himself Messrs. C. M. Smith, of Chicago; James Beatty, Jr., Toronto; Mr. Kesterman, Mr. G. W. McMullen, Mr. Scott, Philadelphia; Mr. Ogden, New York, and General Cass, New York, and drew up his agreement and terms upon which his company would undertake the construction of the road. The members of the Government were not satisfied with either the agreement or the personnel of the company. They wished above all things that the road should be built by Canadians, and did their best to induce Canadian capitalists to undertake the work. They were specially opposed to Americans getting control of Canada's national highway, and Sir George E. Cartier, in particular, was emphatic on that point. He said, "*Aussi longtemps que je vivrai et que je serai dans le Ministère, jamais une sacrée compagnie Américaine aura le control*

*du Pacifique, et je résignerai ma place de Ministre plutôt que d'y consentir.*"\*

At the session of 1872, an Act was passed to provide for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the work to be commenced not later than July, 1873, and completed within ten years. The work was to be done by a private company, which was to give proof of its ability for the undertaking by lodging with the Receiver-General an amount of money sufficient to guarantee the prosecution and completion of the work. The Bill gave the Government power to arrange terms with any company to which they might grant a charter. The subsidy to the company was to consist of lands and money; the land grant to be alternate blocks, twenty miles deep, along the line, and the money subscription \$30,000,000. The land blocks were made twenty miles deep, so as to make the grant uniform with that agreed to be given to the Railway by British Columbia. The Government expected that the sales of lands in the alternate blocks, reserved by them, would be sufficient to reimburse the country the cash subsidy. At that session, two companies, *The Canada Pacific* and the *Inter-Oceanic*, were incorporated, but the House prorogued without either of them completing any arrangement with the Government. The Canadian Pacific Company was formed by Sir Hugh Allan, and the Inter-Oceanic by Senator D. L. Macpherson. During the recess of Parliament, efforts were made to amalgamate the rival companies, but no arrangement could be arrived at, owing, it was said, to the claims of Sir Hugh Allan and Senator Macpherson to the presidency of the proposed coalition. The question was finally set at rest by Sir Hugh Allan forming a new company, com-

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\* "As long as I live, and that I am in the Ministry, never will a d— American company have control of the Pacific, and I will resign my place as Minister rather than consent to it."

posed exclusively of Canadians, and to which the Government granted the charter. The directors were: Sir Hugh Allan, President; Major John Walker, Vice-President; Messrs. Walter Shanly, C.E., E. R. Burpee, C.E., D. McInnes, Fred. W. Cumberland, Hon. Adams G. Archibald, Sandford Fleming, C.E., J. O. Beaubien, J. B. Beaudry, Andrew McDermott, R. N. Hall and J. S. Helmcken. Honorable J. J. C. Abbott was appointed Solicitor of the company.

Provision was made in the charter that none of the directors, who held the whole stock of the company, should sell out their interest for six years without the permission of the Government. This precaution was taken so that there would be no danger of the control of the road falling into the hands of foreigners. When the House assembled in March, 1873, the charter of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the text of which will be found in the Appendix, was ratified by Parliament: the prospects for a speedy commencement of construction were bright; and Nor'-Westers congratulated themselves that the iron horse would soon be a welcome visitor. But these hopes and expectations were doomed to bitter disappointment. On April 3rd, Mr. Lucius Seth Huntington, an Opposition member, moved a resolution of want of confidence in Sir John Macdonald's Government, in which he accused Mr. Abbott, a member of the House, with entering into an agreement with Sir Hugh Allan to furnish money to the Ministers for election purposes; the consideration of such agreement being the granting of a charter to Sir Hugh Allan's company. This resolution was seconded, but not spoken to; it was put to the House and lost by a Government majority of thirty-one. A committee of the House was then appointed to investigate the charges outlined in Mr. Huntington's motion, and, as a



question arose as to the power of a committee to examine witnesses on oath, an Act was passed conferring such power, which received the immediate assent of the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin. The House adjourned in May, and owing to the absence, in England, of Sir George E. Cartier and Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, the Committee did not sit. Meantime the "Oaths Act," which had passed and been assented to so hastily, had been dispatched to England, as its legality had been questioned, and in June, notice of its disallowance was cabled to Lord Dufferin. Sir John Macdonald now suggested that a Commission be issued to the members of the Committee, and the suggestion was agreed to by the Governor-General, but the Committee declined to act under the Commission. Parliament was to meet *pro forma* on August 13th, and then to be prorogued after receiving the report of the Committee, but this programme was upset by the disallowance of the "Oaths Act," the death of Sir George E. Cartier, in England, and the refusal of the members of the Committee to sit as Commissioners and, to complicate matters still more, the Montreal *Herald* published, on the 4th July, a number of letters and telegrams alleged to have passed between Sir Hugh Allan, C. M. Smith, and George W. McMullen, which at first glance appeared very compromising to the Government. The publication of the "McMullen Letters" caused a wide-spread sensation, but the inference which might be drawn from them was almost entirely dispelled by an affidavit of Sir Hugh Allan, which showed that they really had no significance in the sense which their publication was intended to convey—the incrimination of Sir John A. Macdonald, and other members of the Government—but clearly proved that the person who published them was a disreputable blackmailer, of the most contemptible type.

Before the meeting of the House, on August 13th, a delegation from the members waited on His Excellency with a memorial, bearing ninety-three signatures, praying him that in view of the grave charges made against the Government, and of which no investigation had been made by the Committee appointed for that purpose, that he would not prorogue the House until Parliament should have had an opportunity of dealing with the matter. His Excellency denied the petition on constitutional grounds, and Parliament was prorogued as had been contemplated. The Government now suggested the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the charges, and on August 14th, Judges Day, Polette, and Gowan, were selected as Commissioners. The appointment of this Commission was severely criticized by the Opposition leaders, but as the Court of Enquiry was an open one, and the members of it men of acknowledged talent and integrity, the public were satisfied that the investigation would be conducted with impartiality and strict justice. The result proved that the confidence had not been misplaced. The evidence adduced before the Commissioners went to show that Sir Hugh Allan, an applicant for a railway charter, had contributed money to the election fund, although there was no proof, direct or indirect, that any member of the Government had received, or appropriated to his personal use, one penny of the money so contributed. But enough had been brought forward to arm the Opposition with a powerful weapon, in the form of that suspicion which the public mind is so apt to harbor against men in high office when they are accused of wrong-doing. In this instance the sentiment served the purpose for which it had been so sedulously aroused and so carefully cultivated.

On the 24th of October, 1874, the House met, and in reply

to the Speech from the Throne, Mr. Mackenzie moved the following amendment: "And we have to acquaint His Excellency that by their course in reference to the investigation of the charges preferred by Mr. Huntington, in his place in this House, and under the facts disclosed in the evidence laid before us, His Excellency's advisers have merited the severe censure of this House." Mr. Mackenzie, in moving the amendment, reviewed the whole case in an excellent speech, characterized by that moderation of language which he was famous for, even in his most excited moments. Mr. James Macdonald, member for Picton, moved, as an amendment to the amendment: "And we desire to assure His Excellency that after consideration of the statement made in the evidence before us, and while we regret the outlay of money by all political parties at Parliamentary elections, and desire the most stringent measures to put an end to the practice, we at the same time beg leave to express our continued confidence in His Excellency's advisers, and in their administration of public affairs." The debate which followed occupied seven days, all the eloquence and talent of the House being brought to bear on the subject, and never had the Parliament of Canada been the scene of more brilliant, powerful, and forcible oratory, as speaker followed speaker in impassioned bursts of appeal or invective. During the course of the debate, it became evident that several Government members had joined the Opposition ranks, and, without allowing the question to be put to a vote, Sir John A. Macdonald announced the resignation of the Ministry on the 5th November, 1874.

This political change was a great misfortune to the North-West. It upset all the established regulations regarding lands, and there is no doubt that it retarded the building of

the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway for years, besides materially increasing the total amount expended for construction, through the vacillating policy adopted by the new Ministry, who attempted to prosecute the scheme as a public work, and to utilize it in connection with the water stretches between Lake Superior and Red River, and the useless "Dawson Road."

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## CHAPTER XV.

### THE DAVIS GOVERNMENT.

THE formation of the Davis Government in Manitoba was followed immediately afterwards by a general election, which resulted in the new ministry being sustained, but it was felt that the English-speaking portion of the people in the Province were not sufficiently represented, and that the preponderance of French supporters of the administration would be likely to cause one-sided legislation. In the beginning of March, 1875, therefore, the Hon. John Norquay, the leader of the Opposition, at the desire of a majority of his party, consented to take office in the cabinet as Provincial Secretary, and by this acquisition the Government became not only strong but popular. At the same time, Hon. Charles Nolin became Minister of Agriculture, thus increasing the number of cabinet ministers to five, contrary to the promise made, and the policy presented to the people by the Davis Government on taking office.

In speaking of the reconstruction, the *Standard*, which had succeeded the *Manitoban*, said: "The Local Government has increased its strength by taking Mr. Norquay, the leader of the Opposition, into the Government. This is a sensible move. The crisis which is approaching is far too important to permit of sectional differences, and imaginary lines of party demarcation, interfering with the united action which will be neces-



sary on the part of both legislation and government, to secure a recognition of the vital interests of the Province. We congratulate Mr. Davis on the wise course his Government has pursued."

On the 31st March, 1875, the first session of the Second Parliament of Manitoba opened, and in the Speech from the Throne the following passage occurs: "The Executive Council, impressed with the gravity of this position of affairs (inadequacy of the revenue), have represented to the Privy Council of Canada that the financial arrangements established by the Manitoba Act between the Dominion and the Province place the latter in a position of great inferiority to the Provinces of British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, as an examination of the terms granted to those Provinces will conclusively prove, and the Executive Council have urged that the boundaries of the Province should be enlarged, and the financial terms revised in connection therewith. Negotiations with the Privy Council have been conducted, and are still going on, on these subjects, and as a result thereof the Privy Council have adopted a Minute of Council, providing for the increase of the annnal subsidy of the Province until the year 1881, to the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, charging the same to the debt of Manitoba; but my advisers are of opinion that this proposal, although it would afford temporary relief, and although it evinces a gratifying desire on the part of the Privy Council of Canada to come to the assistance of the Province of Manitoba, yet requires from many points of view careful consideration before its acceptance can be determined on. In order, therefore, to bring about a fair adjustment of this very important question, you will be asked to concur in an address to His Excellency the Governor-General,

and Privy Council of Canada, asking for a revision of the financial relations existing between the Dominion and the Province, and also for a substantial enlargement of the boundaries of Manitoba, both westwardly, easterly and northerly."

While local politics were thus shaping themselves, Riel had been elected to represent Provencher in the Dominion House of Commons, but being afterwards expelled, and his seat declared vacant, a new election was ordered, and on the 31st March, 1875, Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne was elected by acclamation to represent the district, his opponent, Elie Tassé, withdrawing in his favor.

On the 30th April, 1875, a bill was introduced in the Local Legislature by the Hon. John Norquay, which, as he explained in his speech, was for the purpose of diminishing the expenditure of the Province by abolishing the Legislative Council. The bill passed the Assembly, but when it reached the Upper Chamber it was thrown out by the casting vote of the Speaker, Hon. Dr. O'Donnell, and thus, although it was the wish that the Legislative Council should be abolished, it remained in existence for the time being.

The delay in the settlement of the Half-Breed Land Grant had occasioned a good deal of dissatisfaction among those interested, when in June, 1875, two commissioners, Messrs. Ryan and Machar, arrived in the Province, charged with effecting a scrutiny of the persons claiming to participate in the 1,400,000 acres set apart by the Manitoba Act for the children of Half-Breeds, also of those who claimed to participate in the grant subsequently made for the heads of Half-Breed families, and in the scrip issue ordered for the white settlers who came into this country between 1813 and 1835. The following is the advertisement which appeared in the newspapers an-

nouncing the presence of the commissioners and the commencement of their labors:—

### NOTICE.

PARISH OF ST. JOHN.

*To Half-Breeds and other claimants of lands or scrip residing in above parish:—*

A Commissioner will attend at the rooms hitherto occupied by the Registry Office, to receive proof of such claims, between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m., on Friday, 18th June instant, and thereafter from day to day as shall be appointed.

MATTHEW RYAN,  
J. M. MACHAR,  
*Commissioners.*

Dated Winnipeg, 16th June, 1875.

In this way the commissioners visited all the parishes in the province, Mr. Machar taking the English and Mr. Ryan the French parishes, until the whole scrutiny was effected.

During the summer of 1876, the country was devastated by grasshoppers, it being the third successive season that these pests visited the North-West, and the farmers were, therefore, very much discouraged, and the press of the Province even went so far as to discountenance immigration until such time as the people already settled upon the land could recover from their reverses. But the warning had no effect, as immigrants swarmed into the country by steamer and overland, many of the newcomers spreading out far to the westward. There were about eight hundred families of Russian Mennonites, averaging over five persons to a family, making an aggregate of over four thousand four hundred, who settled in the southern part of the Province; and, being aided by the Dominion Government, made satisfactory progress in forming comfortable homes for themselves. There was also a prospect of a large emigration from Scotland, and altogether the outlook for rapid settlement and development in the North-West was very promising.

While immigration prospects were bright, and while settlers were locating their homesteads in numbers, the Dominion Government found it necessary to come to the aid of the farmers who had suffered by the ravages of the grasshoppers, and a sum of about \$60,000 was expended for wheat, oats, barley, flour and pork.

About this time also, at the request of Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, a delegation from the Local Government, composed of Hon. R. A. Davis and Hon. Jos. Royal, visited Ottawa, in reference to obtaining better terms for the Province. The result of this mission was a re-adjustment of the financial relations between the Dominion and the Province, by which the subsidy of the latter was increased, until 1881, to \$90,000 per annum; and, in addition, a number of accounts standing between the Federal and Provincial Governments were satisfactorily adjusted, practically wiping out a debt of \$120,000 which Manitoba owed the Dominion, and leaving the Province with a clean sheet to continue anew on its increased subsidy. A change in the cabinet had taken place in the meantime, by which Hon. Jas. McKay became Minister of Agriculture, in place of Hon. Charles Nolin.

On January 18th, 1876, the second session of the second Parliament of Manitoba was opened, and the most important measure passed was the abolition of the Legislative Council. The bill, as it will be remembered, had been defeated at the previous session by the casting vote of the Speaker, Hon. J. H. O'Donnell, but, on the present occasion, the Government prepared for an emergency of this kind by arranging beforehand with a majority of the members comprising the Council to vote themselves out of office. The vote in the Council for abolition stood as follows:—Hon. Messrs. McKay, Inkster,

Gunn and Ogletree voted for it, and Hon. Messrs. Hamelin, Dauphinais and O'Donnell against it. The out-going Councillors who voted in favor of abolition were provided for by appointing them to other offices, and in this way the vote to do away with the Upper Chamber was secured, and Hon. Mr. Davis was thereby able to redeem the pledge he had given to the people on assuming the reins of Government.

As already mentioned, the Dominion Government acted generously in the matter of relief for the sufferers by the grasshoppers, and as the supplies provided had to be conveyed *via* the United States, owing to navigation on the lakes and rivers being closed, a question arose whether teams going from the Province to Moorehead, where the supplies were stored, to bring them in would have to pay the American duty. As a result of correspondence on the subject, it was decided by the authorities at Washington, on representations of Consul Taylor, that no duty would be charged either on the teams or the goods: an act of courtesy which was highly appreciated by the press and public of Manitoba.

The development of the agricultural resources of the country was remarkable about this time, notwithstanding the drawbacks which settlers experienced in the shape of grasshopper visitations, and the withdrawal of large blocks of land from settlement: and the Provincial Government, in order to keep pace with the progress being made, provided for the creation of a Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics. Agricultural societies were formed, and samples of the products of the country were sent for exhibition in the United States and Eastern Canada. The season of 1876 was the most prosperous, in an agricultural point of view, of any preceding years, and, as if to make up for the disaster of 1875, the crop was exceptionally abundant.



In connection with this subject, it may be interesting to give the grinding capacity of the mills in the Province at that time:—

Winnipeg—J. W. McLane,	-	-	4 run stones.
Winnipeg—Bassett & McMillan,	-	2	"
Palestine—C. P. Brown,	-	1	"
Totogon—Chisholm & Bubar,	-	1	"
Portage la Prairie—Wm. Smith,	-	3	"
St. Norbert—J. Lemay,	-	3	"
Point de Chêne—Wm. Smith,	-	1	"
St. Paul's Parish—H. Pritchard	-	2	"
St. Andrews—E. H. G. G. Hay,	-	2	"
Mapleton—Hudson's Bay Co.,	-	1	"

This makes a total of twenty run of stone, with a capacity of about 4,000 bushels per day.

In the fall of 1876, steps were taken to obtain crop reports from all parts of the province, and from the returns handed in we gather the following particulars. The total yields of the Province were:—Wheat, 480,000 bushels; barley, 173,000; oats, 380,000; peas, 45,000; other grains, 5,000; potatoes, 460,000; turnips and other roots, 700,000 bushels. The total average production throughout Manitoba was, as nearly as could be ascertained:—Wheat,  $32\frac{1}{2}$  bushels per acre; barley,  $42\frac{1}{2}$ ; oats, 51; peas, 32; potatoes, 229; turnips,  $662\frac{1}{3}$ . The most of the crop was necessary for home consumption, but as an experiment, the first lot of wheat, consisting of 857 bushels, sent out of the Province, was shipped by Messrs. Higgins & Young, consigned to Steele Bros., Seedsmen, of Toronto. This wheat was intended to be sold for seed to the farmers of Ontario, as samples of the "Manitoba Hard" had been declared

by millers as the very best for milling purposes, and a demand was thereby created for it.

The Half-Breed scrip was now being received in the Province for distribution amongst the claimants, and, as many of these had sold their right to the scrip, frequently two or three times over, there were some very ludicrous scenes at the Dominion Lands Office, on the application being made for the scrip. The following, copied from the *Free Press* of Nov. 18, 1876, will give a good idea of what was taking place at the time :—

#### A RACE FOR SCRIP.

Many funny things happen over the issue of Half-Breed scrip, owing to some of the claimants having sold their interest several times over. A certain "limb of the law," a day or two ago got wind of the arrival of the scrip for St. Boniface, and hastened on the wings of the wind to the Dominion Lands Office, where he presented his power of attorney, and drew scrip for 160 acres. As he was passing out of the door, the Half-Breed woman whose interest he had purchased, appeared on the scene, and made her application at the counter. She was told that she had arrived too late, and left with a sigh, saying to herself, that there was no such thing as justice to be obtained in this world, particularly for a lone widow woman. She had scarcely taken her departure, before a Main Street merchant stepped briskly into the office and presented his claim. On learning that he had been sold, this gentleman made observations, anything but complimentary to the Half-Breed population, whom he proceeded to denounce in no measured terms. His remarks were cut short by the arrival of an alderman, who said he had come for "them script." The merchant's curiosity was aroused, and light broke upon him when he heard the new arrival apply for the grant to the very same woman of whom he himself had purchased. The two compared notes, and then set out to hunt that lawyer who, it appears, had been the last to buy, but the first to take possession. Neither of them are now disposed to take any stock in lone widows.

About this time a by-election took place in the parish of St. Pauls, which resulted in the return of the Government candidate, and as the seat had been held previously by an Opposition member, it was looked upon as a signal victory for Mr.

Davis and his colleagues. The policy of retrenchment, and the economical management of the affairs of the Province, which characterized the administration of the Local Government, was, indeed, favorably regarded by the country, although there were not a few who held that the development of the Province was being retarded thereby. Matters moved smoothly, and nothing occurred to disturb the popular mind, or cause any excitement, until, about the beginning of December, 1876, when word was received that a small-pox epidemic had broken out at Gimli, on Lake Winnipeg, in the Icelandic settlement there. At that time no council had been appointed for the Keewatin district, in which Gimli was situated, and the task of establishing a quarantine, and creating a Board of Health, fell at first upon the local authorities of Manitoba. But on hearing of the state of affairs, the Dominion Government at once appointed a council, consisting of the following gentlemen:—Lt.-Col. Osborne Smith, Dr. Jakes, Dr. Codd, G. McMicken, J. A. N. Provencher, and Wm. Hespeler, and by this means the Governments of Keewatin and Manitoba combined were able to take concerted action to prevent the spread of the disease.

An agitation now commenced in the Province on the School Question, and the following is the platform which was set down by a portion of the Protestant section of the community:—

1st. The abolition of the Board of Education, and the creation of a Department of Education, with a Cabinet Minister for a head.

2nd. The establishment of a purely non-sectarian system of Public Schools.

3rd. The compulsory use of English text-books in all Public Schools.

4th. All Public Schools to be subject to the same rules and regulations.

5th. The appointment of one or more inspectors.

6th. The establishment, as soon as practicable, of a Training School for teachers.

7th. The division of school moneys among the Public Schools of the Province in a certain recognized way—so much per cent. to be divided equally according to the average attendance.

There was no Minister of Education in the Cabinet, and a feeling prevailed that one should be appointed, but the Government was neither in a position, nor had it the desire, to bring about a change in the system of education, and although the advocates of non-sectarian schools continued to discuss the subject in the press, no popular move was made in that direction.

Indeed we have no measures of a radical character to note at this period in the history of the Province. The chief object of the Government seemed to be to keep the expenditure strictly within the revenue, and so long as this was done people seemed content with the non-progressive policy of the administration. Through the energetic exertions of those who were appointed to prevent the spread of the disease, the small-pox was kept within the confines of the Icelandic settlement, and in April, 1877, had disappeared altogether. The harvest throughout the country had been abundant, and the Province generally was prosperous, the only cause for disappointment being the slow progress of the railway.

In the spring of 1877, word came of the approaching visit of Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General, a full account of which appears in another chapter, and the people of Manitoba

looked forward eagerly to the event, which promised to be one of great importance to the North-West in awakening the attention of the authorities and of the world at large to the real position and necessities of the country, which, at that period, seemed to be somewhat at a standstill. The visit of Lord Dufferin fully answered the expectations of the people in this respect.

In October, 1877, Hon. Joseph Cauchon was appointed to the Lieut.-Governorship of Manitoba, to succeed the Hon. Alex. Morris, and the appointment was one which did not find favor with the English-speaking residents of the Province. The French, however, expressed their pleasure at seeing one of their own nationality in the gubernatorial chair. The English journals of the Eastern provinces and of Manitoba were particularly severe upon the new Lieut.-Governor, and criticized adversely, in the strongest manner, the Mackenzie Government for having made the appointment.

On the 22nd November, Hon. Mr. Cauchon arrived in Winnipeg, although he was not expected until 1st December. He had intended remaining over at Toronto and Chicago on his way to the Province, but a telegram from the medical adviser of Madame Cauchon, who had preceded him to Winnipeg, announced her serious illness, and he therefore hastened his journey. Rumors were afloat that the new Governor's entrance into Manitoba would be prevented by physical force, but if there had been any such intention it was not carried out, and Hon. Mr. Cauchon arrived quietly in the Province, without any demonstration being made either for or against him.

On the 1st December, a levee was held at Government House, the occasion being the departure of the Hon. Alex-



Morris, the Lieut.-Governor, and on the following Monday he left by special stage, bound for his home in Perth, Ont. On the same day that Mr. Morris left Winnipeg, Hon. Mr. Cauchon was sworn in as Lieut.-Governor by Judge McKeaghney, and three days afterwards, Madame Cauchon, who had been for some time ill, died in Government House, the sad event exciting unfeigned manifestations of pain and sympathy with the bereaved family in their sad loss; the funeral was attended by all the principal inhabitants of Winnipeg and vicinity, the cortege being over a quarter of a mile in length.

Lieut.-Governor Cauchon never became popular with the English-speaking portion of the people, nor did he endeavor, during the greater part of his term of office, to win their good-will, but, on the contrary, Government House seldom opened its doors for the purposes of hospitality, and the Governor himself led the life of a recluse. His functions as Chief Magistrate were not onerous, and nothing occurred in the political world of the Province to call forth any remarkable activity or statesmanship on his part.

In August, 1878, Hon. Alex. Morris again appeared upon the scene, and this time with the view of offering himself as a candidate for the Dominion House of Commons in the Conservative interest. His reception, however, was somewhat chilly, but a few days after his arrival he managed to be nominated for the district of Selkirk, in opposition to Hon. Donald A. Smith. It was shown during the election that Mr. Morris had intended to run for Marquette, but at the last moment deserted that constituency in the hope of gaining increased prestige by defeating Hon. Donald A. Smith. The election took place on the 26th September, resulting in the return of the latter gentleman, and during the contest it was

clearly shown that the Province was indebted to the energetic endeavors of Mr. Smith for the near approach of railway communication *via* the United States, a fact which is fully borne out in another chapter.

About the middle of October, 1878, Hon. R. A. Davis decided to retire from public life, and resigned the premiership of Manitoba. For some time previous to his taking this step, he had frequently expressed his intention of doing so, the reason given being that his private affairs required his entire care. The *Free Press*, speaking of the resignation of Mr. Davis, said, "Under the leadership of this gentleman, it (the Manitoba Parliament) has enacted no mean volume of progressive and desirable legislation, and the Government have succeeded in changing the financial position of the Province from one of indebtedness to one having a balance on the credit side of its bank account. This happy change has been brought about partially by an increase of the Dominion subsidy, secured by Mr. Davis's Government; but we believe we only do Mr. Davis fair credit in saying that a much more powerful factor in working out this result has been the measures of retrenchment devised, and the careful handling of his particular department—the Treasuryship." Hon. Jas. McKay, the Minister of Agriculture, retired at the same time with Hon. Mr. Davis, and the Lieutenant-Governor called upon Hon. John Norquay to form a ministry. This he succeeded in doing, choosing as his colleagues Hon. Jos. Royal, who accepted the portfolio of Minister of Public Works; Hon. D. M. Walker, Attorney-General, and Hon. C. P. Brown, Provincial Secretary. Mr. Norquay assumed the office of Provincial Treasurer, and, later on, Hon. Pierre Delorme, a French native of Red River, became President of the Council and Minister of Agriculture. The admin-

istration of Mr. Davis can hardly be called progressive, although the *Free Press* chose to give it that credit, but it was an honest, economical government, and as such preserved the Province from bankruptcy at the very commencement of its existence.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### LORD DUFFERIN'S VISIT.

THE visit of Lord Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, to Manitoba, in the autumn of 1877, was a memorable incident in the history of the North-West. His Lordship and Lady Dufferin, accompanied by Lady Helen Blackwood, Lieut.-Col. the Hon. E. G. P. Littleton, the Hon. Mrs. Littleton, Capt. Hamilton, A.D.C., Capt. E. Selby Smyth, A.D.C., and Mr. Campbell, left Ottawa on July 30th, for Winnipeg, by way of Toronto, Chicago, and St. Paul. At the latter city the distinguished travellers were hospitably entertained by the members of the Chamber of Commerce, and General Terry, commandant of the Minnesota military district, and his staff, by whom they were escorted to Fort Snelling, where they were received with a salute of seventeen guns. The garrison was reviewed, and the fortifications inspected, after which the visitors were entertained at lunch by the wives of the officers. Minnehaha Falls and the city of Minneapolis were also visited, and in the evening the party were serenaded at their hotel. Leaving St. Paul, the vice-regal party proceeded by rail to Fisher's Landing, on the Red River, where the steamboat *Minnesota* awaited their arrival, to take them down the river to Winnipeg.

At Turtle River the *Manitoba*, on her up-river trip, was met by the *Minnesota*. The boats were tied together for a

short time, the organ on board the *Manitoba* was brought on deck, and Cool Burgess, Miss Jeanie Watson, and Mr. Hardy, members of a concert company which had just closed an engagement at Winnipeg, sang "Canada, Fair Canada," "Rule Britannia," and "God Save the Queen," to the delight of the visitors and all present. When Pembina was reached, a salute of seventeen guns from the Fort welcomed His Excellency, who landed and inspected Uncle Sam's band of gallant boys in blue, and expressed his appreciation of the cordial welcome accorded him by the commandant and officers of the garrison. British soil was reached at Emerson, where a large crowd had assembled to give welcome to Her Majesty's representative. A platform, appropriately decorated, had been erected, and His Excellency was escorted to it, and presented with the following address:—

Standing on the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, on the bank of the Red River of the North, the natural gateway from the United States to the vast productive territories of the Dominion in the North-West, we, the inhabitants of Emerson and the Pembina Mountain country, of the Roseau River settlement, of the French reserve, of the Mennonite reserve, and of the whole southern portion of the Province, beg to welcome your Excellency and the Countess of Dufferin to Manitoba; and while assuring you of our devotion to Her most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, we beg also to express the esteem we entertain for Her Representative.

We feel proud, Sir, of the mission which, as Canadians and British subjects, devolves upon us to occupy, possess, and mould the future of this vast territory, and we feel assured that, in the task of welding into a homogeneous population those people from various countries of the world that will here make their homes, and, in devising and carrying on great internal improvements, calculated to benefit the people at large, we shall always find in your Excellency, in whatever portion of the Empire you may be, a warm sympathizer, and a ready helper.

Wishing your Excellency and Lady Dufferin a pleasant visit to the Prairie Province.

Signed by F. T. Bradley, W. H. Nash, and W. N. Fairbanks.

In reply, Lord Dufferin said:—



GENTLEMEN—I beg to return you my best thanks for the warm and hearty address with which you have welcomed my re-entrance into the Queen's Dominion.

It is, indeed, a matter of great pleasure and satisfaction to me as representative of Our Most Gracious Sovereign to find that the various communities of the whole southern portion of the Province of Manitoba should have combined to show that they are animated with the same sentiments of devoted and loyal attachment to the throne and person of Our Beloved Queen which are the characteristics of their fellow-countrymen in every Province of this magnificent Dominion.

I can well understand that the position in which you are placed should fire your imagination and encourage you to look forward to your destinies with feelings of pride, and I assure you it will afford me the greatest gratification to promote by every means in my power the welfare and prosperity of the Prairie Province of Canada.

A band of Indians from the Roseau River reserve, headed by Chief Kee-the-qyash, presented the following address, through an interpreter:

We, the Indians of the Roseau Tribe, greet you as the Chief of the Great Mother.

We sold you our lands, and our Great Mother has provided for us.

All treaties we have made have been faithfully kept, and our love is great.

We look upon our white brothers as friends.

A school has been provided for our children that we may learn to speak the tongue of our Great Mother.

Our spiritual wants have been provided for, and we are now learning that the white man's God is our God.

We desire you to tell our Mother, when you cross the great waters, of our devotion.

Our white brothers have told us about you, that like our Mother, you love all her children, and our hearts are warm.

We have spoken.

His Excellency replied in fitting terms.

After holding an informal reception, and chatting pleasantly with those who presented themselves, His Excellency and party once more embarked, and the journey to Winnipeg was resumed.

Winnipeg turned out *en masse* to welcome the vice-regal visitor, and his reception was most enthusiastic. Lieut.-Gov-

ernor Morris and staff, the Mayor and City Council, and representatives of all the societies and public institutions, were at the landing to receive him. As he stepped ashore, cheer after cheer arose, such as had never before disturbed the echoes on the Red River's banks. A large procession was formed, and moved to the City Hall, where Winnipeg's first City Clerk, Mr. A. M. Brown, read an address of welcome, and, after His Excellency's reply, the party were driven to the residence of Mr. Donald A. Smith, at Silver Heights, which the owner, with characteristic hospitality, had placed at their disposal.

His Lordship could not but feel gratified at the hearty welcome which greeted his arrival at the capital of the new North-West, and he expressed his satisfaction in the following letter to the Mayor, Captain Thomas Scott :—

“SILVER HEIGHTS, Aug. 6th, 1877.

“SIR—I am instructed by His Excellency the Governor-General to express to you his very great satisfaction with all the arrangements made under the auspices of the Reception Committee and yourself, to enable the citizens of Winnipeg to welcome his arrival amongst them.

“The large concourse assembled, the beauty and appropriateness of the decorations, the good order which prevailed, and the universal loyalty displayed by all classes towards Her Majesty, in the person of her representative, have been most gratifying to His Excellency, and will doubtless prove the happy augury of the pleasure he anticipates from his residence in your neighborhood.

“I have the honor to be, Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“E. G. P. LITTLETON,

“*Gov.-General's Secretary.*

“His Worship the Mayor of Winnipeg.”

The little capital of the west put on her holiday garb in honor of her distinguished guest, and her streets were gay with arches, evergreens, flags, streamers and mottoes. "*Per vias rectas*," Lord Dufferin had made his way to the hearts of the people of the North-West, and they vied with each other to do him honor on this, the first occasion that presented itself. His stay in Winnipeg and in the country was marked by a continuous round of entertainments, receptions and pleasure-excursions, gotten up or devised for his pleasure. His popularity, and that of the amiable lady, his Countess, increased day by day, so that the people became, if possible, more demonstrative on each occasion of his public appearance. His progress from point to point of the Province, was a triumphal one. The French, Half-Breeds, Indians, Mennonites, Icelanders, as well as the English-speaking people, emulated each other in making his visit memorable from the pleasant recollections it was sure to recall in after years.

His Lordship visited the Mennonites at their reserve, and the Icelanders at Gimli, made a trip on Lake Winnipeg and ran the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan in a York boat. Rode in a Red River cart drawn by thirty garlanded oxen, with the ladies of the party, from the entrance of the grounds to the door of the Stony Mountain penitentiary, remarking, as the cart jolted along, that he would rather be driven to jail in a cart than to *leave* the prison in one. He drove from Winnipeg to the North-West Angle, crossed the Lake of the Woods to Rat Portage, and descended the Winnipeg River in a canoe manned by Indians and Canadian boatmen. On the trip down the Winnipeg, Lady Dufferin and Lady Helen Blackwood assisted in the cooking, and other work about the camp, and darned socks and sewed buttons on the clothes of the

canoe-men. Throughout their visit, the members of the Vice-Regal party laid aside conventionality, and made themselves *bon camarades* with all with whom they came in contact, showing a rare tact and appreciation of the conditions of life of the people whose guest they were for the time being.

Perhaps the most memorable happening of Lord Dufferin's visit was the driving of the first spikes in the Pembina branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway; a ceremony which was performed by His Excellency and Lady Dufferin on the 29th of September, 1877. On the tie in which the spikes were driven was inscribed:—

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

*The first two spikes driven by*

*Their Excellencies the Governor General and the*

*Countess of Dufferin,*

*29th September, 1877.*

On the same day, a farewell *dejeuner* was given by the citizens of Winnipeg, in the City Hall, and, in response to the toast of "The health of His Excellency the Governor-General," Lord Dufferin said:—

"Mr. Mayor, Your Honor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

"In rising to express my acknowledgments to the citizens of Winnipeg for thus crowning the friendly reception I have received throughout the length and breadth of Manitoba, by so noble an entertainment, I am painfully impressed by the consideration of the many respects in which my thanks are due to you, and to so many other persons in the Province. From our first landing on your quays until the present moment, my progress through the country has been one continual delight, nor has the slightest hitch or incongruous incident marred the satisfaction of my visit. I have to thank

you for the hospitalities I have enjoyed at the hands of your individual citizens, as well as of independent communities—for the tasteful and ingenious decorations which adorned my route—for the quarter of a mile of evenly-yoked oxen that drew our triumphal car—for the universal proofs of your loyalty to the throne and the mother country, and for your personal good-will towards Her Majesty's representative. Above all, I have to thank you for the evidences produced on either hand along our march, of your prosperous condition, of your perfect contentment, of your confidence in your future fortunes; for I need not tell you that to any one in my situation, smiling cornfields, cosy homesteads, the joyful faces of prosperous men and women, and the laughter of healthy children, are the best of all triumphal adornments. But there are others for which I ought to be obliged to you; and first, for the beautiful weather you have taken the precaution to provide us with during some six weeks of perpetual camping out; for which attention I have received Lady Dufferin's especial orders to render you her personal thanks—an attention which the usual phenomenon of a casual waterspout enabled us only the better to appreciate; and lastly, though certainly not least, for not having generated amongst you that fearful entity, 'a Pacific Railway Question'—at all events, not in those dire and tragic proportions in which I have encountered it elsewhere. Of course, I know, a certain phase of the railway question is agitating even this community, but it has assumed the mild character of a domestic rather than an inter-Provincial controversy. Two distinguished members, moreover, of my present Government have been lately amongst you, and have doubtless acquainted themselves with your views and wishes. It is not



necessary, therefore, that I should mar the hilarious character of the present festival by any untimely allusions to so grave a matter. Well then, ladies and gentlemen, what am I to say and do to you in return for all the pleasure and satisfaction I have received at your hands? I fear there is very little that I can say, and scarcely anything that I can do commensurate with my obligations. Stay—there is one thing, at all events, I think, I have already done for which I am entitled to claim your thanks. You are doubtless aware that a great political controversy has for some time raged between the two great parties of the State, as to which of them is responsible for the visitation of that terror of two continents—the Colorado bug. The one side is disposed to assert that if their opponents had never acceded to power the Colorado bug would never have come to Canada. I have reason to believe, however, though I know not whether any substantial evidence has been adduced in support of this assertion, that my Government deny and repudiate having any sort of concert or understanding with that irrepressible invader. It would be highly unconstitutional if I, who am bound to hold a perfect impartial balance between the contending parties of the State, to pronounce an opinion upon this momentous question. But however disputable a point may be the prime and original authorship of the Colorado bug, there is one fact no one will question, namely, that to the presence of the Governor-General in Manitoba is to be attributed the sudden, total, otherwise unaccountable, and, I trust, permanent disappearance, not only from this Province, but from the whole North-West, of the infamous and unmentionable ‘hopper,’ whose annual visitations for the last seventeen years have proved so distressing to the agricultural interests of the entire region.

But apart from being the fortunate instrument of conferring this benefit upon you, I fear the only further return in my power is to assure you of my great sympathy with you in your endeavors to do justice to the material advantages with which your Province has been so richly endowed by the hands of Providence. From its geographical position and its peculiar characteristics, Manitoba may be regarded as the keystone of that mighty arch of sister Provinces which spans the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was here that Canada, emerging from her woods and forests, first gazed upon her rolling prairies and unexplored North-West, and learned, as by an unexpected revelation, that her historical territories of the Canadas, her eastern seaboard of New Brunswick, Labrador and Nova Scotia, her Laurentian lakes and valleys, lowlands and pastures, though themselves more extensive than half-a-dozen European kingdoms, were but the vestibules and ante-chambers to that till then undreamed-of Dominion, whose illimitable dimensions confound the arithmetic of the surveyors and the verification of the explorer. It was hence that, counting her past achievements as but the preface and prelude to her future exertions and expanding destinies, she took a fresh departure, received the afflatus of a more important inspiration, and felt herself no longer a mere settler along the banks of a single river, but the owner of half a continent, and in the magnitude of her possession, in the wealth of her resources, in the sinews of her material might, the peer of any power on the earth. In a recent remarkably witty speech, the Marquis of Salisbury alluded to the geographical misconceptions often engendered by the smallness of the maps upon which the figure of the world is depicted. To this cause is probably to be attri-

buted the inadequate opinions of well-educated persons of the extent of Her Majesty's North American possessions. Perhaps the best way of correcting such a universal misapprehension would be by a summary of the rivers which flow through them, for we know that a poor man cannot afford to live in a big house, so a small country cannot support a big river. Now, to an Englishman or a Frenchman, the Severn or the Thames, the Seine or the Rhone, would appear considerable streams, but in the Ottawa, a mere affluent of the St. Lawrence, an affluent, moreover, which reaches the parent stream six hundred miles from its mouth, we have a river nearly five hundred and fifty miles long, and three or four times as big as any of them. But even after having ascended the St. Lawrence itself to Lake Ontario, and pursued it across Lake Huron, St. Clair, and Lake Superior, to Thunder Bay, a distance of one thousand five hundred miles, where are we? In the estimation of the person who has made the journey, at the end of all things—but to us who know better, scarcely at the commencement of the great fluvial system of the Dominion: for, from that spot, that is to say, from Thunder Bay, we are able at once to ship our astonished traveller on to the Kaministiquia, a river of some hundred miles long. Thence almost in a straight line, we launch him upon Lake Shebandowan and Rainy Lake and River, a magnificent stream three hundred yards broad, and a couple of hundred miles long, down whose tranquil bosom he floats into the Lake of the Woods, where he finds himself on a sheet of water which though diminutive as compared with the inland seas he has left behind him, will probably be found sufficiently extensive to render him fearfully sea-sick, during his passage across it. For the last eighty miles of his voyage, however,

he will be consoled by sailing through a succession of land-locked channels, the beauty of whose scenery, while it resembles, certainly excels the far-famed Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence. From this lacustrine paradise of sylvan beauty, we are able at once to transfer our friend to the Winnipeg, a river whose existence, in the very heart and centre of the continent, is in itself one of nature's most delightful miracles, so beautiful and varied are its rocky banks, its tufted islands; so broad, so deep, so fervid is the volume of its waters, the extent of their lake-like expansions, and the tremendous power of their rapids. At last, let us suppose we have landed our protégé at the town of Winnipeg, the half-way house of the continent, the capital of the Prairie Province, and, I trust, the future 'umbilicus' of the Dominion—having had so much of water, having now reached the home of the buffalo—like the extenuated Falstaff, he naturally 'babbles of green fields,' and careers in imagination over the primeval grasses of the prairie. Not at all, escorted by Mr. Mayor and the town council, we take him down to your quay, and ask him which he will ascend first, the Red River or the Assiniboine; two streams, the one, five hundred miles long, the other, four hundred and eighty, which so happily mingle their waters within your city limits. After having given him a preliminary canter on these respective rivers, we take him off to Lake Winnipeg, an inland sea, three hundred miles long, and upwards of sixty broad, during the navigation of which, for many a weary hour, he will find himself out of sight of land, and probably a good deal more indisposed than ever he was on the Lake of the Woods, or even the Atlantic. At the north-west angle of Lake Winnipeg, he hits upon the mouth of the Saskatchewan, the gateway to the North-West,

and the starting-point to another one thousand five hundred miles of navigable water, flowing near by due east and west between its alluvial banks. Having now reached the foot of the Rocky Mountains, our 'Ancient Mariner,' for by this time he will be quite entitled to such an appellation, knowing that water cannot run up hill, feels certain his aquatic experiences are concluded. He was never more mistaken. We immediately launch him upon the Athabaska and Mackenzie Rivers, and start him on a longer trip than he has yet undertaken, the navigation of the Mackenzie River alone exceeding two thousand five hundred miles. If he survives this last experience, we wind up his peregrinations by a concluding voyage down the Frazer River; or, if he prefers it, the Thompson River, to Victoria, in Vancouver, whence, having previously provided him with a first-class ticket for that purpose, he will probably prefer getting home *via* the Canadian Pacific. Now, in this enumeration, those who are acquainted with the country are aware that, for the sake of brevity, I have omitted thousands of miles of other lakes and rivers, which water various regions of the North-West, the Qu'Appelle River, Belly River, Lake Manitoba, the Winnipegosis, Shoal Lake etc., etc., along which I might have dragged, and finally exterminated, our way-worn guest. But the sketch I have given is more than sufficient for my purpose; and when it is further remembered that the most of these streams flow for their entire length through alluvial plains of the richest description, where year after year wheat can be raised without manure, or any sensible diminution in its yield, and where the soil everywhere presents the appearance of a highly-cultivated suburban kitchen garden in England, enough has been said to display the agricultural richness of the territories I have re-



ferred to, and the capabilities they possess of affording happy and prosperous homes to millions of the human race. But in contemplating the vistas thus opened to our imagination, we must not forget that there ensues a corresponding expansion of our obligations. For instance, unless great care is taken, we shall find, as we move westward, that the exigencies of civilization may clash injuriously with the prejudices or traditional habits of our Indian fellow-subjects. As long as Canada was in the woods, the Indian problem was comparatively easy; the progress of settlement was slow enough to give ample time and opportunity for arriving at an amicable and mutually convenient arrangement with each tribe with whom we successively came into contact; but once out upon the plains civilization will advance with far more rapid and ungovernable strides, and it cannot fail eventually with the by no means inexhaustible supply of buffalo upon which so many Indian tribes are now dependent. Against this contingency it will be our most urgent and imperative duty to take timely precautions, by enabling the red man, not by any undue pressure or hasty, ill-considered interference, but by precept, example, and suasion, by gifts of cattle and other encouragements, to exchange the precarious life of a hunter for that of a pastoral, and, eventually, that of an agricultural people. Happily, in no part of Her Majesty's dominions are the relations existing between the white settler and the original natives and masters of the land so well understood, or so generously and humanely interpreted as in Canada, and as a consequence, instead of being a cause of anxiety and disturbance, the Indian tribes of the Dominion are regarded as a valuable adjunct to our strength and industry. Wherever I have gone in the Province

—and since I have been here I have travelled nearly a thousand miles within your borders—I have found the Indians upon the several reserves, pretermittting a few petty grievances of a local character they thought themselves justified in preferring, contented and satisfied, upon the most friendly terms with their white neighbors, and implicitly confiding in the good faith and paternal solicitude of the Government. In some districts, I have learned with pleasure that the Sioux, who a few years since entered our territory under such sinister circumstances—I do not, of course, refer to the recent visit of Sitting Bull and his people, who, however, I believe are remaining perfectly quiet—are not only peaceable and well-behaved, but have turned into useful and hard-working laborers and harvest men: while in the more distant settlements, the less domesticated bands of natives, whether as hunters, voyageurs, guides, or purveyors of our furs and game, prove an appreciably advantageous element in the economical structure of the colony. There is no doubt that a great deal of the good feeling thus subsisting between the red men and ourselves is due to the influence and interposition of that invaluable class of men, the Half-Breed settlers and pioneers of Manitoba, who, comprising as they do the hardihood, the endurance, and love of enterprise, generated by the strain of Indian blood within their veins, with the civilization, the instruction, and the intellectual power derived from their fathers, have preached the gospel of good-will and peace, and mutual respect, with equally beneficent results to the Indian chieftain in his lodge and to the British settler in his shanty. They have been the ambassadors between the East and the West; the interpreters of civilization and its exigencies to the dwellers on the prairie, as well as the exponents to the white



Hon. M. A. Girard.



men of the consideration justly due to the susceptibilities, the sensitive self-respect, the prejudices, the innate craving for justice, of the Indian race. In fact, they have done for the colony what otherwise would have been left unaccomplished, and have introduced between the white population and the red man a traditional feeling of amity and friendship, which, but for them it might have been impossible to establish. Nor can I pass by the humane, kindly, and considerate attention which has ever distinguished the Hudson's Bay Company in its dealings with the native population. But though giving due credit to these influences amongst the causes which are conducing to produce and preserve this fortunate result, the place of honor may be adjudged to that honorable and generous policy which has been pursued by successive Governments towards the Indians of Canada, and which at this moment is being superintended and carried out with so much tact, discretion, and ability by your present Lieutenant-Governor, under which the extinction of the Indian title upon liberal terms has invariably been recognized as a necessary preliminary to the occupation of a single square yard of native territory. But our Indian friends and neighbors are by no means the only alien communities in Manitoba which demand the solicitude of the Government, and excite our sympathies and curiosity. In close proximity to Winnipeg, two other communities — the Mennonites and Icelanders — starting from opposite ends of Europe, without either concert or communication, have sought fresh homes within our territory; the one, of Russian extraction though of German race, moved by a desire to escape from the obligations of a law which was repulsive to their conscience—the other, bred amid the snows and ashes of an Arctic volcano, by the hope of bettering their



material condition. Although I have witnessed many sights to cause me pleasure during my varied progress through the Dominion, seldom have I beheld any spectacle more pregnant with prophecy, more fraught with promise of a successful future, than the Mennonite Settlement. When I visited these interesting people, they had been only two years in the Province, and yet in a long ride I took across many miles of prairie, which but yesterday was absolutely bare, desolate and untenanted, the home of the wolf, the badger, and the eagle, I passed village after village, homestead after homestead, furnished forth with all the conveniences and incidents of European comfort, and of a scientific agriculture; while, on either side of the road, corn fields already ripe for harvest, and pastures populous with herds of cattle, stretched away to the horizon. Even on this continent—the peculiar theatre of rapid change and progress—there has nowhere, I imagine, taken place so marvellous a transformation; and yet, when in your name, and in the name of the Queen of England, I bade these people welcome to their new homes, it was not the improvement in their material fortunes that pre-occupied my thoughts. Glad as I was to have the power of applotting them so ample a portion of our teeming soil, a soil which seems to blossom at a touch, and which they were cultivating to such manifest advantage, I felt infinitely prouder in being able to throw over them the ægis of the British Constitution—and in bidding them freely share with us our unrivalled political institutions, and our untrammelled personal liberty. We ourselves are so accustomed to breathe the atmosphere of freedom, that it scarcely occurs to us to consider and appreciate our advantage in this respect. It is only when we are reminded by such incidents as that to which I refer, of the

small extent of the world's surface over which the principles of Parliamentary Government can be said to work smoothly and harmoniously, that we are led to consider the exceptional happiness of our position. Nor was my visit to the Icelandic community less satisfactory than that to our Mennonite fellow subjects. From accidental circumstances, I have been long since led to take an interest in the history and literature of the Scandinavian race, and the kindness I once received at the hands of the Icelandic people in their own island, naturally induced me to take a deep interest in the welfare of this new immigration. When we take into account the secluded position of the Icelandic nation for the last thousand years, the unfavorable condition of their climate, and geographical situation, it would be unreasonable to expect that a colony from thence should exhibit the same aptitudes for agricultural enterprise as would be possessed by a people fresh from intimate contact with the highest civilization of Europe. In Iceland, there are neither trees, nor corn fields, nor highways. You cannot, therefore, expect an Icelander to exhibit an inspired proficiency in felling timber, ploughing land, or making roads, yet unfortunately these are the three accomplishments most necessary to a colonist in Canada. But though starting at a disadvantage in these respects, you must not underrate the capacity of your new fellow-countrymen. They are endowed with a great deal of intellectual ability and a quick intelligence. They are well-conducted, religious and peaceable. Above all, they are docile and anxious to learn. Nor, considering the difficulty which prevails in the country, in procuring women servants, will the accession of some hundreds of bright, good-humored, perhaps inexperienced, yet willing, Icelander girls, anxious for employment, be found a

disadvantage by the resident ladies of the country. Should the dispersion of these young people lead, in course of time, to the formation of more intimate and tenderer ties than those of mere neighborhood, between the Canadian population and the Icelandic colony, I am safe in predicting that it will not prove a matter of regret on one side or the other. And, gentlemen, in reference to this point, I cannot help remarking with satisfaction on the extent to which the community of interests, the sense of being engaged in a common undertaking, the obvious degree in which the prosperity of any one man is a gain to his neighbor, has amalgamated the various sections of the population of this Province, originally so diverse in race, origin, and religion, into a patriotic, closely-welded and united whole. In no part of Canada have I found a better feeling prevailing between all classes and sections of the community. It is in a great measure owing to this wide-spread sentiment of brotherhood that on a recent occasion great troubles have been averted, while at the present moment it is finding its crowning and most triumphant expression in the establishment of a University, under conditions which have been declared impossible of application in any other Province of Canada—I may say, in any other country in the world. For, nowhere else, either in Europe or on this continent, as far as I am aware, have the bishops and heads of the various religious communities into which the Christian world is unhappily divided, combined to erect an alma mater, to which all the denominational colleges of the Provinces are to be affiliated, and whose statutes and degrees are to be regulated and dispensed under the joint auspices of a governing body in which all the churches of the land shall be represented. An achievement of this kind speaks volumes in favor of the wis-

dom, liberality, and the Christian charity of those devoted men, by whom, in the distant land, the consciences of the population are led and enlightened, and long may they be spared to see the effects of their exertions and magnanimous sacrifices in the good conduct and grateful devotion of their respective flocks. Nor, I am happy to think, is this good fellowship upon which I have so much cause to congratulate you, confined either within the limits of the Province, or even within those of the Dominion. Nothing struck me more, on my way through St. Paul, in the United States, than the sympathetic manner in which the inhabitants of that flourishing city alluded to the progress and prospects of Canada and the North-West, and, on arriving here, I was equally struck by finding even a more exuberant counterpart of those friendly sentiments. The reason is not far to seek. Quite independently of the genial intercourse promoted by neighborhood, and the intergrowth of commercial relations, a bond of sympathy between the two populations is created by the consciousness that they are both engaged in an enterprise of world-wide importance, that they are both recognized corps in the ranks of humanity, and the wings of a great army marching in line on a level front; that they are both engaged in advancing the standards of civilization westward, and that for many a year to come they will be associated in the task of converting the breadths of prairie that stretch between them and the setting sun, into one vast paradise of international peace, of domestic happiness, and material plenty. Between two communities thus occupied, it is impossible but that amity and loving kindness should be begotten. But, perhaps it will be asked, how can I, who am the natural and official guardian of Canada's virtue, mark with satisfaction such dangerously senti-

mental proclivities towards her seductive neighbor. I will reply by appealing to those experienced matrons and chaperons I see around me. They will tell you that when a young lady expresses her frank admiration for a man, when she welcomes his approach with unconstrained pleasure, crosses the room to sit beside him, presses him to join her picnic, praises him to her friends, there is not the slightest fear of her affections having been surreptitiously entrapped by the gay deceiver. On the contrary, it is when she can be scarcely brought to mention his name, when she alludes to him with malice and disparagement, that real danger is to be apprehended. No! No! Canada both loves and admires the United States, but it is with the friendly, frank affection which a whole-hearted, stately maiden feels for some big, boisterous hobbledehoy of a cousin fresh from school, and elate with animal spirits and good nature. She knows he is stronger and more muscular than herself, has lots of pocket-money, can smoke cigars and 'loaf around' in public places in an ostentatious manner, forbidden to the decorum of her own situation. She anticipates and will be proud of his future success in life, and both likes him and laughs at him for his affectionate, loyal, though somewhat patronizing, friendship for herself. But of no nearer connection does she dream, nor does his bulky image for a moment disturb her virginal meditations. In a word, apart, secluded from all extraneous influences, nestling at the feet of her majestic mother, Canada dreams her dream, and forebodes her destiny—a dream of ever broadening harvests, multiplying towns and villages, and expanding pastures: of constitutional self-government and a confederate Empire; of page after page of honorable history, added, as her contribution to the annals of



the Mother Country, and to the glories of the British race, of a perpetuation for all time, upon this continent, of that temperate and well-balanced system of government which combines in one mighty whole, as the eternal possession of all Englishmen: the brilliant traditions of the past with the freest and most untrammelled liberty of action in the future. Ladies and gentlemen, I have now done. I have to thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me, and, once again, for the many kindnesses you have done Lady Dufferin and myself during my stay amongst you. Most heartily do I congratulate you upon all that you are doing, and for the glorious prospect of prosperity that is opening out on every side of you. Though elsewhere in the Dominion stagnation of trade and commerce has checked for a year or two the general advancement of Canada, here at least you have escaped the effects of such sinister incidents; for your welfare being based upon that most solid of all foundations, the cultivation of the soil, you are in a position to pursue the even tenor of your way untroubled by those alternations which disturb the world of trade and manufacture. You have been blessed with an abundant harvest, and soon, I trust, will a railway come to carry to those who need it the surplus of your produce, now, as my own eyes have witnessed, imprisoned in your storehouses for want of the means of transport. May the expanding finances of the country soon place the Government in a position to gratify your just and natural expectations."

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

WHEN the Dominion of Canada first assumed the suzerainty of the North-West Territories, she contented herself with staking out a small square space in one corner of the vast area—"one square on the checker-board," as Lord Dufferin afterwards so aptly called it, and named it Manitoba.

Upon that infinitesimal portion of her newly acquired domain she bestowed a responsible government, armed with all the authority, and equipped with all the machinery, necessary to establish law and order. The balance—the ninety-nine hundredths—of the North-West, she was content to leave for the present to govern itself: a task that it was quite equal to, had not untoward events intervened which changed the whole current of life on the plains, and rendered the speedy introduction of law and its enforcement a crying necessity.

Under the beneficent sway of the Hudson's Bay Company, the western prairies of British North America had been for nearly two centuries the happy hunting ground of thousands of Indians; happy from their point of view, for did not the buffalo furnish them with all the necessities of their simple life—food, clothing and shelter—while the Hudson's Bay Company supplied its few small luxuries. Their inter-tribal wars were a part of their nature, and—evil as they might

appear to the philanthropist—were, to them, the wine of life, the ecstasy of existence.

The building of the Union Pacific Railway, through the southern plains, had driven the buffalo northward, and the easy access to the country which the railway afforded, enabled a dangerous class of adventurers and desperadoes to penetrate to the far west, and engage in so-called trade with the Indians. The buffalo existed then in such immense numbers that the earth actually trembled beneath their myriad hoofs, at times, when the mighty herds stampeded in an agony of terror before their ruthless destroyers. A campaign of extermination was inaugurated by the strangers from the south. The Indians, accustomed to deal with the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, and their kinsmen and friends, the Half-Breeds and white hunters of Red River, welcomed the newcomers, and gladly allied themselves with them in the destruction of the buffalo. A boom in robes set in, competition became keen, and whiskey, the curse of whites and Indians alike, was made the principal currency of the trade. Legitimate traders were outbid and their business ruined by the unscrupulous whiskey traders. Fort Benton, Montana, became the distributing point and depôt of their operations, and Fort Garry lost its prestige as the great robe market. The Indians, always eager for intoxicants, were given whiskey, and when drunk, robbed of their robes. If they resisted the outrage, they were brutally murdered. A veritable reign of terror set in, and the western plains became the scene of indescribable debauchery, revolting in its fiendish cruelty, and disgraceful to the civilization of which it was a deplorable offshoot.

The small-pox broke out with great virulence among the In-

dians in the winter of 1870-71. It was difficult to estimate the number of deaths caused by the plague, but Captain Butler, of the British army, who was sent out to investigate, reported between two and three thousand victims.

On April 21st, 1871, the following gentlemen met at Edmonton House, and organized the Saskatchewan District Board of Health, to take measures to stamp out the small-pox and prevent its spreading to adjoining districts:—Wm. J. Christie, Hudson's Bay Company's Chief Factor: Rev. George McDougall, Methodist Missionary; Rev. Father Leduc, Rev. Father André and Richard Hardisty, Hudson's Bay Company's Factor. The following were named members of the board:—Bishop Grandin, St. Albert: Bishop Farrand, Lac la Biche: Father Lacombe, Plains: John Bunn, Edmonton (Secretary): Father Tourmond, Lac Ste. Anne: Rev. Henry Steinhaur, Whitefish Lake: Rev. Peter Campbell, Pigeon Lake: and Rev. John McDougall, Victoria. It was resolved that no furs, buffalo robes, or leather, be allowed to be exported from the Saskatchewan district during that season. That any person leaving the district should first appear before a Justice of the Peace, and swear that he had no robes, fur, leather, or other article likely to carry infection, and that he had been free from small-pox for three months. On these requirements being complied with, the person was granted a certificate permitting him to leave the district. The Board took several other precautionary measures, and formulated a request to the Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba to appoint an efficient medical officer to visit the country, and to be placed under the instructions of the Board as to his further movements. The Health Board transmitted a detailed statement of the rise and progress of the disease to Lieut.-Governor

Archibald, from which we make the following extract :—Mortality among the tribes, from statements obtained from themselves :—

Piegans, - - - - -	1,080
Bloods, - - - - -	630
Blackfeet, - - - - -	676
Circes, - - - - -	200
Assiniboines, - - - - -	100
St. Albert Half-Breeds, - - - - -	320
Lac Ste. Anne, - - - - -	40
Edmonton, Indians - - - - -	30
Victoria, Crees, - - - - -	55
Whitefish Lake, - - - - -	50
Lac la Biche, Half-Breeds, - - - - -	13
St. Paul, Crees, - - - - -	150
Fort Pitt, " - - - - -	100
Carlton, " - - - - -	100
Total, - - - - -	3,544

In 1871, Captain Butler recommended the appointment of a Civil Magistrate or Commissioner, with power to hold courts at convenient points in the North-West Territories, and to be assisted in his magisterial duties by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had already been appointed Justices of the Peace. He proposed that this officer should be supported by a force of 100 to 150 men, specially recruited for service in the North-West. He also recommended the establishment of government stations, one in the neighborhood of Edmonton and the other at or near the Forks of the Saskatchewan, below Carlton. The establishment of these stations to be followed by the extinguishment of the Indian title, by treaty, within



certain geographical limits. He was also of the opinion, "that if the Government establishes itself in the Saskatchewan, a third post should be formed, after the lapse of a year, at the junction of the Medicine and Red Deer Rivers."

In the Dominion House, during the session of 1871, Hon. D. A. Smith, member for Selkirk, enquired of the Government if they intended to provide for the regulation of trade in the North-West Territories, and also what steps they intended to take regarding the traffic in intoxicating liquors, which was being carried on by Americans to the demoralization of the Indians. Sir George E. Cartier replied that the Governor-in-Council had power to deal with these matters, and Mr. Smith's representations would receive attention. Mr. Mackenzie asked what regulations were in force. Sir George E. Cartier answered that before the Union there were regulations made by the Hudson's Bay Company, but he did not know their nature. Mr. Smith, no doubt, knew more about the matter than anyone else. Sir Francis Hincks remarked that he thought the hon. member for Selkirk had more papers, and knew more about North-West affairs than the Government. And such was the fact, for the Government had not had time to ascertain the requirements of the North-West, and were so deficient in knowledge of the condition of affairs in the great lone land that they were obliged to seek council with the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and the missionaries, before committing themselves to any policy for its government.

At the session of 1872, an Act was passed to provide for the government of the North-West Territories, by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and a council of eleven members. In January, 1873, the first North-West Council was gazetted, the following being the members appointed:—Hon. Marc A. Gir-

ard, Hon. Donald A. Smith, Hon. Henry J. Clarke, Hon. Patrice Breland, Hon. Alfred Boyd, John Schultz, Joseph Dubuc, Andrew G. B. Bannatyne, Wm. Frazer, Robert Hamilton and William J. Christie. On the 8th of March following, the council was called together for the first time, and the members took the oath of office, but no business of importance was transacted. To attend this meeting, Chief Factor Christie travelled 2,000 miles from Fort Simpson, on the Mackenzie River, to Fort Garry, by dog train, the journey occupying fifty-five days of actual travel. His French Half-Breed driver ran or walked the entire distance on snowshoes, often going ahead of the dogs, "making track," for days in succession. Mr. Christie reported a flourishing Church of England mission at Fort Simpson, in charge of Rev. Mr. Reeve, who, besides attending to his ministerial duties, also taught school. At Providence and Isle à la Crosse, Mr. Christie visited the Roman Catholic missions, and expressed his satisfaction of the excellent progress made by the Indian and Half-Breed children under the direction of the Sisters of Charity.

Mr. J. A. N. Provencher was at this time appointed Indian Commissioner for the North-West, in the place of Mr. Wemyss Simpson.

An amendment to the Act for the Government of the North-West Territories was passed at the session of 1873, which provided:—"Subject to the provisions hereinafter made, it shall be lawful for the Governor-in-Council to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the said North-West Territories and of Her Majesty's subjects therein, in relation to all matters and subjects in relation to which the Lieut.-Governor and his Council aforesaid are not then empowered to make laws; and for that purpose, either to make new laws or to extend

and apply and declare applicable to the North-West Territories, with such amendments and modifications as may be deemed necessary, any Act or Acts of the Parliament of Canada, or any parts thereof; and from time to time to amend or repeal any such laws, and make others in their stead. The power hereby given shall extend to the modification, amendment, or repeal of any Act mentioned in the schedule to this Act: and the Lieutenant-Governor, acting with the advice and consent of his Council, shall have like powers with respect to the subjects and matters in relation to which he is empowered to make laws; and a copy of every such law made by the Lieutenant-Governor of the said Territories and his Council shall be mailed for transmission to the Governor-in-Council within ten days after its passing, and may be disallowed by him at any time within two years after its passing; and every such law made by the Governor-in-Council shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as conveniently may be after the making and passing thereof."

This Act also provided that the Council might be increased from eleven to twenty-one, and that in no case was the Council to consist of less than seven members.

Reports of trouble and dissatisfaction among the Sioux having reached Winnipeg, Hon. Pascal Breland was sent to deal with them. The Sioux complained that they had been treated harshly by Mr. Wemyss Simpson, ex-Indian Commissioner, during the year previous. A deputation, headed by the famous "Little Knife," had visited Winnipeg to enquire as to the Canadian Government's intentions towards the tribe. They had heard that an alliance had been formed between the Canadians and Americans to exterminate them, and thought the Boundary Commission was being organized for that sinis-

ter purpose. Hon. James McKay, to whom they first applied for information, informed them that their fears were entirely groundless, and referred them to the Indian Commissioner for confirmation of his assurances. The Commissioner made an appointment with them, but failed to keep it, sending them instead a small quantity of provisions, which they contemptuously refused to accept. Greatly angered by the indifference shown them, they departed, Little Knife declaring, "the next time the English see me here, it will not be with this little crowd. As for that little camp of warriors (alluding to the volunteer garrison of Fort Garry), it is only a blow for a tomahawk. I have slain 700 people along the American railway. All this country I see, is a beautiful country for me and my people." During the winter it was reported that Little Knife and other chiefs were preparing for a raid on the settlements, and it was to prevent this contingency, if possible, that Mr. Breland was commissioned to visit them.

The news of serious conflicts between the Blackfeet and American traders, which reached Ottawa at this time, and the unsettled condition of the Indians generally, caused the Government to hasten the organization of the North-West Mounted Police, and the Act establishing the force was pressed through its several readings and made law.

The Modoc war was then in progress south of the boundary, and the United States were strengthening their military posts between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains, 5,000 men being distributed among them, over 2,000 of whom were detailed to protect the railway and boundary surveys. For the protection of the North-West, the Government despatched 156 additional men to Fort Garry, making the total strength of the garrison 300.

One of the most remarkable facts in the history of the Canadian North-West is, that no serious Indian outbreak had ever occurred up to the unfortunate period of 1885. The records of the far west of the United States are stained with the blood of thousands of settlers and travellers, the victims of Indian hatred and vengeance; but our Indians were always friendly to the whites, and persisted in their loyalty, when often tempted to join their southern brethren in a grand war of extermination, which would rid them forever of the pale-faced usurpers. The secret of this anomaly lies, not in any tradition of loyalty to the British Crown, nor in the existence of an imaginary boundary line, but in the invariably honorable and impartial treatment of the Indians by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose wise policy it was to regard them rather as wayward children than as reasoning men, and by humoring their peculiarities of character, win their confidence, love, and respect. To the good offices of the noble men who managed the business of the company in the olden times, we owe our past and present immunity from "Indian outrages." They laid the foundations of a lasting peace, which was cemented by our treaties, and to-day Canada can look with pride to her Indians as a proof of what justice and fair dealing may accomplish (where fraud and cruelty have so signally failed in the United States) with the native American.

Meantime, Mr. Breland had succeeded in his mission to the Sioux, and the alarm, which had existed for a time, was abated. In June, a party of fifty Sioux, under the command of Chiefs Standing Buffalo and White Eagle, visited Winnipeg, to ask that they be granted a reserve in British territory. They were well received by Commissioner Provencher, who promised that their request would be forwarded to Ottawa, where it would receive the best consideration.



Five additional members were added to the North-West Council in December, 1873, viz., Hon. James McKay, Hon. Joseph Royal, Pierre Delorme, W. R. Brown, and W. N. Kennedy. At this time, the American outlaws had so increased in strength and audacity in the Territories, that they had established no less than ten forts at different points on the St. Mary, Belly, Bow, and Red Deer rivers. At these forts, the Indians assembled to trade their buffalo robes for whiskey, and the scenes enacted were terrible. The peaceably-inclined inhabitants were anxious for the coming of the Mounted Police, that the hideous traffic might be stamped out, and the remnant of the Indians and the buffalo be saved from destruction.

As the proceedings of the North-West Council were secret, we have no means of detailing the transactions of that body, but we may surmise that it was upon their recommendation that troops were not sent to the Territories during the "Indian scare," in 1873. Their advice in this regard was excellent, and the Government of the day were wise in accepting it; as, when the Indians had assembled in large bands to prepare for resisting the army, which they supposed was about to be sent to exterminate them, a movement of troops would have inevitably caused a rising, and the massacre of every white trader and settler on the plains.

The Council held its first legislative sitting at Winnipeg, on August 27th, 1874, and passed several Acts providing for the administration of the affairs of the North-West. The next session was held in March, 1874. Among the Acts passed at this meeting was, "An Act providing for the appointment of constables in the North-West Territories,"—which gave power to Justices of the Peace to appoint constables and peace offi-

cers, as required—and “An act to amend the Poisons Act,”—which forbade the use of poisoned bait in killing fur-bearing animals. The *Manitoba Free Press* said, regarding this meeting of the Council, “The task which is assigned to the Lieutenant-Governor and Council of the North-West, is an important and difficult one. What they have to do, in point of fact, is to bring order out of chaos, in a territory larger than half the continent of Europe.”

On April 27th, 1874, a proclamation was published, prohibiting the manufacture, importation, or sale of liquor in the Territories.

The Council held an executive session at Winnipeg, on June 1st, 1875, at which Messrs. John H. McTavish and William Tait were sworn in as members. An Act respecting the administration of justice and the establishment of a Police Force, was passed at the session of the Dominion Parliament, in June, 1874, also, an Act imposing severe penalties on persons selling or giving liquor to the Indians.

The Act for the organization of the North-West Territories, introduced by Mr. Mackenzie, during the session of 1875, provided for the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor and a Council of five members; it also provided that the Governor-General-in-Council, might, from time to time, authorize and empower the Lieutenant-Governor, by and with the consent of the Council, to make provision for the administration of justice in the Territories. So soon as the Lieutenant-Governor was satisfied that any portion of the Territories not exceeding an area of one thousand square miles, contained a population of not less than one thousand inhabitants, exclusive of aliens or unfranchised Indians, he should by proclamation erect such district into an electoral division, by a name, and with boun-

daries to be respectively declared in the proclamation, and such electoral district should thenceforth be entitled to elect a member of the Council, or the Legislative Assembly, as the case might be. *Bona fide* residents and householders, resident in the district for at least twelve months preceding the election, were entitled to vote. When the population of a district amounted to two thousand, it became entitled to two members. Any person qualified to vote was eligible for election. When the number of elected members amounted to twenty-one, the Council then existing, by appointment, should cease and determine, and the elected members were to form the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, with all the powers previously vested in the Council. The members of the Assembly were elected for two years. The Act also provided for the appointment of a Sheriff, Justices of the Peace, and Stipendiary Magistrates, and defined their respective duties and powers. The Act was to come into force on the proclamation of the Governor-General. It made no provision for representation in the Dominion Parliament. Clause 11, relating to schools, provided: "When and so soon as any system of taxation shall be adopted in any district, or portion of the North-West Territories, the Lieutenant-Governor, by and with the consent of the Council or Assembly, as the case may be, shall pass all necessary ordinances in respect to education; but it shall therein be always provided that a majority of the ratepayers of any district or portion of the North-West Territories, and any lesser portion or subdivision thereof, by whatever name the same may be known, may establish such schools therein as they may think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic; may establish separate schools therein,

and that in such latter case, the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they may impose upon themselves in respect thereof."

The Mounted Police were by this time doing good work in the western country, by wiping out the whiskey traders, and it is remarkable that, although these men were of a most lawless and desperate type, the police made short work of them, and without the necessity of resorting to bloodshed. Sentences of \$500 fine, six months imprisonment, and confiscation of their ill-gotten buffalo robes, were more than these bold outlaws could stand: they were brave in the presence of desperate Indians, armed with shot-guns or defective breech-loading rifles, but the red-coated M. P.'s "looked too much like business," as one of them said, and they gradually disappeared to more congenial climes.

During the summer of 1875, Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod and Matthew Ryan were Stipendiary Magistrates for the North-West Territories. Alarming news reached Winnipeg early in the summer of an Indian outbreak on the Saskatchewan, and for a time rumors of murder and rapine were current, but happily the accounts were greatly exaggerated. Gabriel Dumont, who long after figured as a rebel leader, had formed a kind of commonwealth among the Half-Breed hunters who, banded together for mutual protection, voluntarily pledging themselves to certain rules and laws regulating buffalo hunting and trading. Dumont was elected chief of this nomadic democracy, and, swollen with the pride of office, he attempted to extend his rule beyond the confines of his own camp. He arrested several hunters who declined to join his party and subscribe to his rule, and warned others off his territory.

Directly the Mounted Police appeared, however, his valor evaporated. He released the prisoners, returned the goods he had confiscated, and the fines he had collected, and humbly sought pardon of the constituted authorities.

A number of Assiniboine Indians, men, women, and children, were massacred by American whiskey traders in 1873, and in 1875, Major A. G. Irvine, N. W. M. P., was sent to Montana to arrest the murderers and have them extradited if possible. He succeeded in bringing the leaders of the desperadoes before the authorities at Fort Benton on extradition proceedings, but they were discharged for want of sufficient evidence. He then crossed the boundary to Fort McLeod and Cypress Hills, and captured three of the band, named James Hughes, Philander Vogel, and George Bell, and brought them to Winnipeg for trial. To give the reader an idea of the immense herds of buffalo in the country at that time, we give the Major's statement that he travelled among herds of buffalo from McLeod to within one day's ride of Fort Qu'Appelle. The arrest of these murderers, two years after the commission of the crime, had a salutary effect upon their fellow outlaws; and their conveyance from McLeod to Winnipeg, in charge of a squad of Mounted Police, right through the Indian country, where they were seen by the Indians, and the cause of the arrest explained to them, must have helped greatly in convincing them that the new laws were established in their interests, equally with those of the white man, and that in future, if wrongs were committed against them, the law would step in and punish the guilty ones.

On the 23rd November, 1875, the Council met at Winnipeg, and His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Morris, reviewed the



work accomplished by it from its foundation. He explained that the present Council was a provincial one, acting until such time as the new Council, partly nominative by the Crown and partly elective, should be formed, under the presidency of a Lieutenant-Governor, resident within the Territories. He called attention to the ordinances passed from time to time by the Council, which had been ratified by the Parliament of Canada, and the suggestions for legislation which that body had acted upon. Among the most important of these were the extension of the criminal laws, the law prohibiting the liquor traffic, the establishment of the Mounted Police force, the appointment of Stipendiary Magistrates, the punishment of the Cypress Hills murderers, the making of treaties with the western Indian tribes, the establishment of a mail service, measures for the collection of customs duties, the appointment of coroners, the caring for orphan children, the regulation of the relations of masters and servants, the establishment of highways, extension of surveys, and other matters of minor importance. His Honor outlined the future measures which it appeared necessary that the Council should adopt or recommend, which were of most importance, viz.: The relations of the Crown with the Indian tribes, and as regarded their means of livelihood while they were passing through the transition process of being prepared to earn their living from the soil, referring to the regulation of buffalo hunting in such a way as to prolong the subsistence afforded to the Indians by the wild cattle, and thus give time for their gradual accustomment to agricultural pursuits, also, regulations to prevent the spread of prairie fires.

As the immense territory lying east and north of Manitoba had not been definitely understood to come under the

general description conveyed in the term North-West Territories, the Government deemed it advisable to pass an act defining its boundaries, and placing it under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. The act, which was passed at the Session of 1876, described the new District of Keewatin as follows: Beginning at the westerly boundary of the Province of Ontario, on the International boundary line dividing Canada from the United States of America; then westerly, following upon the said International boundary line to the eastern boundary of the Province of Manitoba; thence due north along the said easterly boundary of Manitoba, to the north-east angle of the said Province; thence due west on the north boundary of the said Province, to the intersection by the said boundary of the westerly shore of Lake Manitoba; thence northerly, following the said westerly shore of the said lake to the eastern terminus thereon, of the portage connecting the southerly end of Lake Winnipegosis with the said Lake Manitoba, known as the "Meadow Portage;" thence westerly, following upon the trail of the said portage to the westerly terminus of the same, being on the easterly shore of the said Lake Winnipegosis; thence northerly, following the line of the said easterly shore of the said lake, to the southerly end of the portage leading from the head of the said lake into Cedar Lake, known as the "Cedar," or "Mossy Portage;" thence northerly, following the trail of the said portage to the north end of the same, on the shore of Cedar Lake; thence due north to the northerly limits of Canada; thence easterly, following upon the said northerly limits of Canada, to the northern extremity of Hudson's Bay; thence southerly, following upon the westerly shore of the said Hudson's Bay, to the point where it would be intersected by a line drawn

due north from the place of beginning, and thence due south on the said line last mentioned to the place of beginning.

The criminal laws, and that prohibiting traffic in liquor, were extended to the new district, over which the courts and officials of Manitoba were given jurisdiction, but, until the act was declared in force by proclamation, the affairs of Keewatin were to be administered by the North-West Council.

After the massacre of General Custer and his command by Sitting Bull, that redoubtable leader and his following retreated to Canada, and a great gathering of the tribes—Peigans, Blackfeet, Bloods, Assiniboinés, Crows, Gros Ventres, and Sioux—was held at Cypress Hills. It was thought that Sitting Bull had assembled this council for the purpose of instigating a general rising against the whites, and much alarm was felt as to the outcome of the meeting, as it was estimated that there were 3,000 warriors present. The newspapers called upon the Government to send troops to the defence of the settlers, but such a course was deemed inexpedient, and the Mounted Police were left to deal with the excited Indians, and Major Irvine, with a subaltern and ten men, was commissioned to visit the camp. The result of his campaign is described in a letter to the *Toronto Globe*, from Fort McLeod, as follows: “Fort McLeod, July 1, 1876.—While the American papers are teeming with telegrams, referring to the movements of General Terry’s army of 4,300 men, and of the advance of these troops in three divisions against the Sioux in the Yellowstone region, a similar movement of troops on this side of the line has been successfully made, of which no notice has yet been taken. On June 18th last, Assistant Commissioner Irvine, commanding the North-West Mounted Police in this district, advanced on and completely demoralized a large en-

campment of Indians at Cypress Hills. The camp numbered over 1000 lodges, of which one hundred lodges were of Sitting Bull's band. Col. Irvine advanced his troops in a mass of columns, the whole numbering ten men. Having successfully pierced the centre of the camp, he threw amongst the Indians, at close quarters, hand grenades of a new pattern, patented by an eminent firm in Canada. These missiles were composed of sea biscuit, tea, sugar, and tobacco. The Indians never recovered from the first discharge. On the following day the left wing of the right division, consisting of one man, was despatched to a mixed camp of Indians, numbering 150 lodges, with orders to seize a certain number of horses stolen by them from the South Peigans, peacefully if possible, but in the case of resistance, to capture the entire band. The horses were recovered. How about the moral influence of the police force in this country?"

On the 7th October, 1876, the long delayed proclamation, putting in force the North-West Territories Act, was published. The Honorable David Laird was appointed Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent of Indians, with a Council consisting of Stipendiary Magistrates McLeod, Ryan, Richardson, and Major Irvine; E. A. Forget, Secretary of the Council, and Molineaux St. John, Sheriff. The Lieut.-Governor and Council were empowered to deal with matters coming within the following classes of subjects: Taxation for local and municipal purposes; property and civil rights in the Territories; the administration of justice in the Territories, including maintenance and organization of courts, both of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and including procedure in civil matters in these courts, but the appointment of any judges of the said courts shall be made by the Gover-

nor-General in Council: public health: the licensing of inns and places of public refreshment: landmarks and boundaries; cemeteries; cruelty to animals; game and wild animals, and the care and protection thereof: injury to public morals; nuisances; police; roads, highways and bridges: the protection of timber; gaols and lock-up houses: and generally, all matters of a merely local or private nature: the imposition of punishment, by fine or penalty, or imprisonment, for enforcing any ordinance of the Territories made in relation to any matter coming within any classes of subjects enumerated, provided that it be not inconsistent with certain statutes specified, or that any penalty does not exceed one hundred dollars.

The Chief Justice, or any Judge of the Court of the Queen's Bench of the Province of Manitoba, with any one of the Stipendiary Magistrates as an associate, was empowered to hold a court, to hear and determine any charge preferred against any person for any offence alleged to have been committed within the North-West Territories: In the case in which the maximum punishment for such offence does not exceed five years imprisonment in a summary way, and without the intervention of a jury. In any case in which the maximum punishment exceeds five years, but is not punishable by death, either in a summary way and without the intervention of a jury, if the accused assents thereto, or, if the accused demands a jury, then with the intervention of a jury not exceeding six in number. In any case in which the punishment is death, with the intervention of a jury not exceeding eight in number. Right of appeal to the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba was provided for.

On the same day (7th Oct., 1876), the District of Keewatin was proclaimed with Lieutenant-Governor Morris, of Mani-



toba, as Lieutenant-Governor. On Nov. 24th, the following gentlemen were gazetted as the Council of Keewatin: Lt.-Col. W. Osborne Smith, Dr. Jackes, Dr. Codd, Gilbert McMicken, J. A. N. Provencher, and Wm. Hespeler. This Council met immediately, to take steps to prevent the spread of small-pox, which had broken out among the Icelanders and Indians on Lake Winnipeg. Vigorous methods were adopted by the Council, who constituted themselves a board of health, and the disease was checked before it had made much progress. A strict quarantine, and inspection of all furs from the infected district, prevented its spreading to Manitoba.

Lieutenant-Governor Laird and the members of his Council were sworn in on Nov. 27th, 1876, at Livingstone, Swan River, where the seat of Government was temporarily located, awaiting the completion of the Government House and other public buildings, at Battleford, the Capital of the North-West. The first session of the Territorial Council was held at Swan River, on March 8th, 1877, during which were passed ordinances respecting the administration of justice, the registration of deeds, the protection of the buffalo, for the prevention of prairie and forest fires, the establishment of ferries, and the prevention of infectious diseases.

The Ordinance for the preservation of the buffalo, was an important one, framed in the best interests of the Indians. It provided as follows:—

1. No pound, pit, or like enclosure or contrivance shall, at any time, be found or used in the North-West Territories for the capture of buffalo, nor shall it be lawful to destroy buffalo by running them into ravines, or lakes, or over steep banks or precipices.

2. It shall be unlawful at any season to hunt or kill buffalo from the mere matter of amusement, or wanton destruction, or solely to secure their tongues, choice cuts, or peltries; and the proof in any case that less

than one-half of the flesh of a buffalo has been used or removed shall be sufficient evidence of the violation of this section.

3. It shall be unlawful to kill buffalo, of either sex, under two years of age, or to have the dead bodies or the peltries, or any other part of the bodies of such young buffaloes in possession.

4. On and after the 15th of November, 1877, and in every year thereafter, the period between the 15th day of November and the 14th day of the following August, inclusive, shall be a close season for female buffalo; and during said season it shall be unlawful to kill such buffalo, or have in possession the dead bodies, or the peltries, or any other part of the bodies of the female buffalo killed in the said close season: Provided that nothing contained in this section shall extend or apply to Indians or non-treaty Indians between the 15th day of November and the 14th day of the following February inclusive.

5. Notwithstanding anything contained in this Ordinance, it shall be lawful for any traveller or other person in circumstances of pressing necessity to kill buffalo to satisfy his immediate wants.

6. In order to convict any person of unlawfully killing buffalo, it shall be sufficient to prove that such person was one of a party accessory to such killing; and taking the life of each and every buffalo unlawfully killed, shall be deemed a distinct and separate offence.

7. Every person convicted of an offence against any of the foregoing provisions of this Ordinance shall be liable for each and every offence to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars, with costs of prosecution, and in default of payment to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months.

8. When any offence is committed against this Ordinance, it shall be the duty of any sheriff, policeman, constable, or other peace officer, upon view thereof, or upon the information of any two persons, who shall declare their names and places of abode, to forthwith arrest such offender by the authority of this Ordinance, and without further warrant to bring him before a Judge, Stipendiary Magistrate, or Justice of the Peace, to be dealt with according to law.

9. Every offence against any of the sections of this Ordinance may be presented in a summary manner before any Judge, Stipendiary Magistrate, or Justice of the Peace.

10. One-half of any pecuniary penalty recovered under this Ordinance shall be paid to the informer.

The Ordinance for the preservation of the buffalo met with a great deal of opposition when put in force. The Half-Breeds of the plains, who depended upon the chase almost, if

not quite, as much as the Indians resented, what they considered the undue discrimination of the Ordinance, and the Indians were highly incensed at the law which forbade them killing buffalo when and how they pleased. They were willing to cede their lands to the whites, but they could not understand why they should be debarred from doing what their forefathers had done from time immemorial. The idea of imprisoning a man for killing a buffalo, seemed outrageous, and Half-Breeds and Indians united in denouncing the law, and in many cases openly defying it. Sitting Bull seized the opportunity of the existing discontent to stir up a feeling of hostility to the whites among the Canadian Indians, and it required all the firmness of the Mounted Police and the diplomacy of the Government, to restrain the savages from open rebellion. The Half-Breeds, regarding the Ordinance as a severe check to their trade in buffalo robes, were in no way loath to incite the Indians to defy the law, and for a time, the indications were ominous of serious trouble. Fortunately, a treaty was consummated with the Blackfeet, in Oct., 1877, by Governor Laird. About five thousand Indians, the most powerful and warlike on the plains, being thus brought under control. This treaty established peace in the North-West, so far as these Indians were concerned, and to their honor be it said the Blackfeet have never departed from the obligations of the treaty, although many attempts have been made to turn them from their allegiance. Crowfoot, head chief of the Blackfeet, whom his people called the Great Father, in accepting the treaty, said: "While I speak, be kind and patient. I have to speak for my people, who are numerous, and who rely upon me to follow that course which in the future will tend to their good. The plains are large and wide, we are the chil-

dren of the plains, it is our home, and the buffalo has been our food always. I hope you look upon the Blackfeet, Bloods, and Sarcees as your children now, and that you will be indulgent and charitable to them. They all expect me to speak now for them, and I trust the Great Spirit will put into their breasts to be a good people—into the minds of men, women, and children, and their future generations. The advice given me and my people has proved to be very good. If the Police had not come to the country, where would we be all now? Bad men and whiskey were killing us so fast, that very few of us indeed would have been left to-day. The Police have protected us, as the feathers of the bird protect it from the frosts of winter. I wish them all good, and trust all our hearts will increase in goodness from this time forward.” A notable feature of this treaty was the refusal of the Blackfeet to accept presents of food, which was the invariable preliminary step in the transaction of other treaties. Crowfoot said, “No, let us talk first, then, if we agree, we can eat.”

An Act to amend the North-West Territories Act was passed at the session of the Dominion Parliament in 1877. The principal matters dealt with in the amended Act were the enlargement of the powers of the Stipendiary Magistrates in civil and criminal cases, and the extension of their jurisdiction to the District of Keewatin. On August 1st, of the same year, the seat of government in the Territories was moved from Swan River to Battleford.

The second session of the North-West Council assembled at Battleford on July 10th, 1878. Mr. Patrice Breland, who had been appointed during the recess, taking part in the deliberations. Fourteen Ordinances were passed at this session, one of them being the repeal of the obnoxious Buffalo Ordinance.

This retrograde legislation pleased the Half-Breeds and Indians, but sealed the fate of the wild cattle, for in a very few years all that was left of the noble herds which once blackened the prairies, were their bleaching skeletons; scattered so numerously that the collection and shipping of the bones became quite an important industry.

In 1878, the Dominion House passed an Act for municipal organization in the District of Keewatin, defining the boundaries of four municipalities, which included the Icelandic settlements, and provided for the erection of future municipalities upon the proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor, when the requirements of population warranted such action, also, for the organization and definition of school districts.

Big Bear, chief of the Crees, made a demand on the Council at this time, that the Indians should be allowed to settle their inter-tribal difficulties in their own way, without the intervention of the Mounted Police, and that Indians should be declared exempt from capital punishment.

A deputation of Half-Breeds presented a few requests, as follows:—That one of the councillors appointed by Government should be a French Half-Breed; that the Government should advance to Half-Breeds, who wish to settle down, cattle and farming implements, to be paid for in annual instalments; and that a French Half-Breed Stipendiary Magistrate, who could talk English, French and Cree, should be appointed.

Mr. Laird's position was far from being a sinecure. His time was taken up with receiving deputations of discontented, and often defiant, savages, and less savage but more cunning Half-Breeds. Scarce a day passed without its item of alarming news of battle or outrage, from some distant part of the Territories—happily incorrect in nearly every case, but none



the less disquieting—which there was no immediate opportunity of verifying. His residence was the central figure of an Indian encampment, for his subjects loved to observe and comment upon his every movement; and his kitchen was an Indian restaurant where meals were served at all hours while the guests waited. To add to the pleasure of his environments, his actions and motives were misconstrued and misrepresented by some of the eastern newspapers, who were ready with their criticisms, despite the fact that they displayed a vast ignorance of everything pertaining to the North-West in the very articles in which they censured the Lieutenant-Governor. The North-West owes a great deal to Mr. Laird, more than can be realized by those who only know the country in its present conditions of established civilization and peace.

In 1889, Mr. Edgar Dewdney was appointed Superintendent of Indians, the Lieutenant-Governor having requested to be relieved of that office. Owing to some miscalculation, the money to pay the Indians their annuities was not forwarded to Battleford in time, and Mr. Dickieson, who acted as Superintendent between Mr. Laird's resignation and Mr. Dewdney's appointment, had to deal for nearly six months with some thousands of starving Indians, who had assembled to receive their yearly payments. He got over the difficulty by issuing notes at thirty days, which were accepted as cash by the merchants and traders. On taking office, Mr. Dewdney found the Indians in a sad state of destitution. The buffalo had rapidly decreased within the past three years, and they were suffering severely in consequence. The following table will show how quickly the buffalo was being exterminated, and how the wholesale diminution of their food supply must have affected the Indians:—

Quantity of buffalo robes exported from Fort Walsh and Fort McLeod during two years :—

FORT WALSH.					1878.	1879.
Buffalo robes,	-	-	-	-	16,897	8,277
Cow skins,	-	-	-	-	1,140	240
Calf skins,	-	-	-	-	198	100

FORT MCLEOD.					1877.	1878.	1879.
Robes,	-	-	-	-	30,000	12,797	5,764

Mr. Dewdney visited the different tribes, distributed provisions, and paid annuities, also making arrangements and selecting sites for Indian farms on the reserves. These farms were placed in charge of instructors, appointed by the Federal Government, and the Indians were given their first lessons in farming.

The third session of the North-West Council adjourned on September 27th, 1879, after a short sitting, during which ten Ordinances were past, viz.:—Respecting infectious diseases; dangerous lunatics: ferries: prevention of prairie fires: masters and servants: licensing of billiard tables, and the prevention of gambling; amending the administration of justice in civil matters: exempting certain property from seizure and under executions: registration of deeds to lands, and respecting the Ordinances of the North-West Territories. The *Battleford Herald*, commenting on the business of the session, said: "The Council was unable to legislate respecting schools for want of sufficient powers, and to deal with roads and bridges for want of funds. It is about time that the people of the Territories, who contribute largely to

the general revenue of the Dominion, should, at least, have the allowance of eighty cents per head of the population, which is granted to the provinces for local purposes. Besides paying the full customs and excise duties exacted in other portions of the Dominion, the people of the Territories have also to pay heavy freight rates for all the goods they import. Would it not, therefore, be common justice to allow them some expenditure on roads and bridges, in order to lessen the expense of freighting, in return for the taxes which they pay into the Dominion treasury?"

In view of the numerous "Indian scares" which alarmed the country from time to time, it was deemed advisable to furnish the white and Half-Breed inhabitants with means to defend themselves in case any real danger should arise. Lt.-Col. W. Osborne Smith, C.M.G., and Mr. C. Acton Burrows, were therefore sent to the Territories to arrange for the organization of volunteer militia companies at various points. Their mission met with hearty approval wherever they went, and resulted in the formation of infantry and mounted companies at the following places: Battleford, Capt. Scott (Registrar); St. Laurent, Capt. Owen E. Hughes; Prince Albert, Capts. Moore and Young, two companies of horse, and Capt. Thos. McKay, infantry.

We have thus briefly outlined the progress of Government in the Territories. In subsequent chapters we will deal further with the subject.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### RAILWAY POLICY OF THE MACKENZIE GOVERNMENT.

AFTER the defeat of Sir John A. Macdonald, the people of Manitoba waited impatiently for the next move upon the political chess-board which would indicate some definite move in the direction of railway connection with the east. Mr. Mackenzie's speech to his constituents at Sarnia, so far as it concerned his railway policy, was far from satisfactory to Nor'-Westers. He said on that occasion:—"One of the matters which will be brought up will be the Pacific Railway matter. You are aware that, during the discussion of the Bill, I objected to the provision to complete the railway within ten years. Nearly three years of that time have elapsed, and we are bound by the contract to finish it within seven years and three months. I have always thought that a speedy means of communication across the continent was necessary for the good of settlement, and for the purpose of opening up the districts where we have great riches undeveloped in the bosom of the earth. Without that communication their development cannot take place, and immigration cannot be effected. It will be the duty of the Administration, in the first place, to secure a means of communication to our navigable waters, from Lake Superior to Fort Garry and the Rocky Mountains, at the same time commencing at the Pacific Ocean, and constructing communication by the western slope.

In the meantime communication would be afforded in conjunction with the American lines until we have means sufficient to accomplish the work. If we once have these regions accessible—that is, British Columbia and the North-West Territory—we can afford then to spend money upon the constructing of the other portions of the road, which will be necessary to complete our great national highway across the continent: and I think it would be the duty, as it will be the desire of the Government, to develop any plan by which these results are to be accomplished.”

During the election campaign, Mr. Mackenzie repeatedly expressed his opinion that delay was prudent in undertaking the construction of the main line. At Hamilton, he said:—“We propose, in my policy, to treat with British Columbia for some modification of the terms, and at the same time maintain as rigidly as possible the honor and good faith of the country in carrying out the engagements already entered into. We have proposed a plan by which we can use the water privilege of our great western lakes and rivers, securing a means of transcontinental communication by these waters, and the links of railway necessary to connect them as a summer route across the continent, within a reasonable time, without burdening the country with an intolerable load of debt. We propose that the Pacific Railway should cross the continent through Canadian territory for its entire length, as soon as that is possible.”

These utterances of the Premier did not convey any very reassuring message to the people of the west, whose long deferred hope for a railway did not appear to be much nearer fruition than it had been two years previously. The session of Parliament was, therefore, looked forward to impatiently



for what it might bring forth in the way of railway legislation. The House met at Ottawa, on the 27th of March, 1874, and the Speech from the Throne gave little indication of the Government's intentions in respect to the railway. The following is the clause which referred to the subject: "The late Government having failed in securing the prosecution of that great enterprise, the Canadian Pacific Railway, you will be called upon to consider what plan will best and most speedily provide means of transcontinental communication with British Columbia. The report of the Chief Engineer will be laid before you, showing what progress was made during the past year with the surveys connected with the proposed line." Early in the session, a deputation from Manitoba waited on Mr. Mackenzie, to urge the speedy construction of the Pembina branch. He replied that the Government would be prepared to go on with the road as soon as the St. Paul and Pacific Railway Company were ready to push their line to the boundary.

On May the 8th, Mr. Mackenzie notified the House that he would bring down the Pacific Railway resolutions on the Tuesday following. According to these, the whole line of the railroad was to be divided into four sections, viz. :—

First—To begin near the south of Lake Nipissing, and to extend towards the upper or western end of Lake Superior, to a certain point where it would intersect the second section.

Second—To begin at some point on Lake Superior, to be determined by the Governor-General in Council, connecting with the first section, and to extend to Red River in the Province of Manitoba.

Third—To extend from Red River to some point between Edmonton and the foot of the Rocky Mountains, to be yet determined.

Fourth—To extend from the western terminus of the third section to some point in British Columbia, on the Pacific Ocean.

That branches of the said railway would be constructed as follows :—

From a point indicated as proposed eastern terminus of the said railway, to some point on the Georgian Bay, to be yet determined. A branch from the main line near Fort Garry, to the international boundary at or near Pembina : such branches to be considered as forming part of the Canadian Pacific Railway, except in so far as it may be otherwise specially provided.

Mr. Mackenzie promised, in introducing the resolutions, that the Pembina branch would be built immediately, as he expected to begin the work of construction some time during the current year. By the Act which passed the House, the Government reserved the power to construct the main railway as a public work, or to let the building of it to contractors in four sections. If given out by contract, the contractors were to be paid bonuses of ten thousand dollars per mile, and twenty thousand acres of land per mile, together with a guarantee of four per cent. per annum on their outlay. The huge land monopoly, which such an immense grant was calculated to create, was guarded against by the Government's keeping the sale of two-thirds of the land in their own hands, and accounting for the proceeds of such sale to the contractors. No limit of time was assigned for the completion of the work.

While these proposals were not altogether satisfying to the people of Manitoba, the promise of the speedy construction of the Pembina branch, and the main line to Thunder Bay, was thankfully received by them, and they expressed a general, if

lukewarm, approval of the new railway policy. British Columbians, on the other hand, denounced the policy as a breach of faith, by which their rights had been ignored, and indignantly refused the proposed expenditure of \$1,500,000 yearly, on their end of the line, in lieu of the original terms, which provided for railway connection with Eastern Canada within ten years from their entry into Confederation.

Mr. Mackenzie still clung to his pet theory of utilizing the water stretches between Lake Superior and Fort Garry, and the waters of Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba and the Saskatchewan river, as a means of communication with the far west. Accordingly, a contract was made with Carpenter & Co., of Orillia, for carrying passengers and freight from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry, during the season of navigation, of which the following is a synopsis:—

The contractors, during the navigation season of the present year (1874), must maintain the line on a scale sufficient to carry the passengers and freight from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry, and *vice versa*, without delay. The contractors to have experienced engineers and crews on the steamers and boats; to be allowed the use of the plant and buildings, but to hand the same back in the fall. The contractors must not run the steamers off the line of the route. Passengers and freight to leave Thunder Bay three times a week, or daily, if necessary, and *vice versa*. The time for the conveyance of passengers not to exceed ten or twelve days at farthest, and for freight fifteen or twenty days. The contractors are to make provision against accidental delays. All the boats to be well manned: to keep houses and tents in good order for emigrants, and to furnish meals at 30 cents. Intoxicating liquors strictly prohibited. Contractors and employés are not to

deal in furs. Contractors must make their own arrangements with the Indian Agents for the transportation of Indians. Employés must treat Indians kindly, or suffer dismissal. Passengers must be made additionally comfortable on Sundays. The department is not bound to complete the works within any given time, and contractors are to have no claim if the works are not completed. The contractors to make casual repairs to roads or property in use, for the bulk sum of \$1,000. Rates are not to exceed the following :—

From Thunder Bay to Fort Garry (and *vice versa*):—

Each passenger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$10 00
Each passenger under 14 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 00
Children under 3 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Free
General freight, per 100 pounds,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 00
Household furniture, per 100 pounds (owner's risk)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 00
Way passengers on land, per mile,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 05
“ “ water, “ “	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 02
Way freight on land, per 100 pounds,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 01 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ water “ “	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 00 $\frac{1}{2}$

Machinery, horses, cattle and sheep at special rates, to be approved by officers in charge.

The contractors to be paid a bonus of \$75,000, in monthly instalments of \$12,500 each, on the 1st of June, July, August, September, October and November, of the present year, 1874.

The opening of the “ Dawson Road ” for passenger traffic, was signalized by the complaints of those who had the misfortune to travel by it. Passengers arrived at Winnipeg worn out with fatigue, their effects destroyed by leaky boats and exposure, and in a state of semi-starvation, after a trip lasting from 15 to 21 days. They one and all complained of nearly

every feature of the route. The boats were leaky and otherwise uncomfortable; the stopping-places, either entirely wanting, or dirty and neglected, and little or nothing to eat at any of them. The passengers were often obliged to carry their own baggage over the portages, and work their passage on the boats. On the longer land stretches they were jolted along in lumber waggons, over corduroy roads, or compelled to walk, where no waggons had been provided. The employés were, with few exceptions, uncivil and even brutal. Along the whole route there was scarcely a man to give information. Such answers as "I know nothing about it," "It's none of my business," "You may go to h—ll," were more common than civil ones. The bargain with the contractors was clearly a mistake; they got their bonus in any event, and the fewer passengers, and the less freight they carried, the better for them. Mr. S. J. Dawson, the originator of the road, was sent by the Government to investigate the condition of affairs in July, 1874, as complaints were being forwarded to Ottawa by every mail. On his arrival at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, he was nearly mobbed by the crowd of disappointed and incensed passengers assembled there, waiting transportation to Winnipeg. He proceeded as quickly as possible to Pointe de Chêne, and sent out a number of Half-Breeds with Red River carts to bring the starving people into Winnipeg.

The road was kept open for two seasons, but its operation was found to be so costly and unsatisfactory that the Government closed it. Then they undertook the construction of a railway to Sturgeon Falls, with a view to utilizing the water stretches. The location of the railway was afterwards moved further north (to the line now existing between Lake Super-



ior and the Red River), and the construction of a canal and locks at Fort Francis, on the Rainy River, was commenced in June, 1875. This canal was intended to make the water stretches available for the passage of steamboats of moderate draught, and would have given 200 miles of uninterrupted navigation from Kettle Falls to Rat Portage. It was calculated that the canal would prove serviceable for local traffic, even if the larger scheme of continuous water communication from Lake Shebandowan to Lake of the Woods were abandoned. Work on the canal was continued for three years, and about \$220,000 were expended, but it was finally left unfinished, and remains so to the present, without ever having been used for the passage of vessels.

In the autumn of 1874, a contract for the grading of the Pembina branch was let to Joseph Whitehead, and Manitobans were made happy in anticipation of the speedy arrival of the locomotive engine. But Winnipeg was greatly exercised over the route chosen for the main line.

It was feared that the line would pass somewhere in the neighborhood of the Stone Fort, and thence north-westward, instead of near the city, and a number of mass meetings were held on the subject. The settlers along the Assiniboine, at Portage la Prairie and westward, also strenuously objected to the location of the line, as it afforded them no hope of railway service, and was going through a country where no settlement had as yet been attempted. Indeed, the whole route, as indicated by the policy of the Mackenzie administration, was considered to be against the best interests of the country, and a more southern one was advocated. The Government's defence of the northern route was, that it would shorten the distance across the continent, but, as a speaker remarked at one of the

meetings held in Winnipeg, the settlements to the west existed through an understanding promulgated by Government maps, showing the railway line running south of Lake Manitoba, and to change it to the north would be a breach of faith with the settlers. The same speaker pointed out that as the railway would not be likely to cross the Rocky Mountains for ten years, the line to the north would be of no more use to the country in the meantime than a music book would be to a lark.

The *Toronto Globe*, the organ of the Government, spoke thus of the route: "The route chosen for the projected railway is considerably to the north of Winnipeg, but it is one found to be the most direct, most practicable, and most favorable to the economical construction of the road. These are the first essentials to the success of the scheme. But they are not its only recommendation. The railroad will be brought by this means into early communication with the great chain of lake and river navigation, which, long before the line can possibly work its way far to the westward, will bring down the produce of the rich and fertile plains now only awaiting the arrival and tillage of the husbandmen to make them contributors to the traffic of the first links in the Canadian Pacific." The Speech from the Throne at the opening of the second session, Third Parliament, thus alludes to the subject:—"The report of the surveys of the road from Lake Superior to Fort Garry, which will be ready in a few days, will afford information upon which tenders may be invited for the construction of the eastern and western portions of that section, so as to reach the navigable waters of the interior."

In March, 1875, a delegation consisting of Senators Sutherland and Girard; Messrs. W. N. Kennedy, M. St. John, John

Schultz, D. A. Smith, Thos. Ryan, A. W. Burrows, G. B. Elliott, R. Gerrie, Joseph Doupe, A. F. Martin, and L. W. Herchmer, waited upon Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, Premier, to discuss matters connected with the location of the railway in Manitoba. The principal request of the delegation was for aid in building a bridge to cross the Red River at Winnipeg, a matter which Mr. Mackenzie said he would investigate, and if it did not add too heavily to the cost, or impose any serious obligations on the Dominion, he would favorably consider the proposal. On the chairman of the delegation remarking that a good deal of dissatisfaction existed amongst the people of Manitoba with respect to the decision of the Government respecting the main line as well as the branch, and that thereby the rights of a great many settlers would be ignored, the Premier made the following remarks:—"That he would satisfy rather than dissatisfy the people, and for every thousand persons in Manitoba whom he would satisfy, there were one hundred thousand in other parts of the Dominion he would dissatisfy. He would rather give the Province a million of dollars than construct the main line thirty miles out of its way. The question of freight had to be considered."

In the Speech from the Throne, at the first session of the second parliament of Manitoba, in 1875, attention was called to the railway question in the following words:—"On the right development of the railway system of the North-West, the prosperity of this Province mainly will depend, and, while it is of the utmost importance that the location of the Canadian Pacific Railway should be so made as to preserve that directness of route which is so necessary for a national highway across the British portion of the American continent, it is yet essential to extend the advantages arising from the construction thereof to the population of this Province."

On the 5th April, 1875, the delegation sent to Ottawa in regard to the railway situation, made their report, from which we copy the following clause :—" The undersigned are of opinion that there is no probability of the Government changing the proposed route of the Canadian Pacific Railway, unless it can be shown that the information upon which they are acting is incorrect ; but are of opinion that it is the intention of the Government to cross the Pembina Branch at Winnipeg and St. Boniface, and to connect with the main line on the west side of the river. It was urged upon the Premier that it would be advantageous to the country were the Pembina Branch to be built, irrespective of the action of the Minnesota Railway Companies." To this Mr. Mackenzie replied :—" That it seemed to him useless to build a railway to stop short at Pembina, and that, besides this, it would be necessary that the Minnesota line should first be completed, in order that rails and locomotives for the Canadian line might be brought in. He said that directly the unfinished portion of the American line was completed, the Government would be prepared to build the Pembina Branch, and that such work would occupy but little time.

In regard to the bridge over the Red River, Mayor Kennedy, who visited Ottawa to plead the cause of Winnipeg, reported, on his return in November, 1875, as follows :—" We are safe in assuming, I think, that the Pacific Railroad will not be continued west of Red River for some years ; in fact the Premier in his Sarnia speech said so, consequently, the bridge on the main line will not be built, as it would not be required until the road is continued west. In the meantime, the Pembina Branch is being proceeded with to a point opposite the city, and it is hoped that perhaps next fall we may have railway

communication with the south. \* \* \* I think we will have a bridge at Winnipeg before there is one north of us."

In the meantime, the construction of the sections of the main line lying between Thunder Bay and Lake Shebandowan, and between the Lake of the Woods and Red River was being proceeded with, and, as shown in another chapter, the surveys to the west of Red River were being actively pushed forward.

While this was going on, the difficulties which had arisen between the British Columbian and Dominion Governments, consequent upon the non-fulfilment of the agreement made in 1871, for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, had assumed formidable proportions. The Dominion Government dispatched an agent, Mr. James D. Edgar, to treat with the Provincial Government, and, if possible, arrange some method of compromise. Mr. Mackenzie finding it utterly impossible to carry out the terms of the Act of Union—the commencement of the railway within two, and its completion within ten, years, from July 20th, 1871. Negotiations proceeded for some time between the Provincial Government and Mr. Edgar, acting in his capacity as the accredited agent of the Dominion, and modified proposals were submitted by him, which appeared acceptable to British Columbians, when, suddenly, Mr. Walkem, the Provincial Premier, raised objections to recognizing Mr. Edgar as the agent of the Dominion, and Mr. Edgar was recalled to Ottawa, and the whole case remained in *statu quo* for some time. Mr. Walkem next proceeded to England, to urge the Imperial authorities to interfere in behalf of the Province. Lord Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, considered that this appeal to the British Government, by a Province, in a matter which was capable of settlement



between the parties to the dispute, would, if granted, establish an awkward, and perhaps dangerous, precedent. He therefore deprecated the object of Mr. Walkem's mission, but offered to assume the role of arbitrator, on the distinct understanding that his finding should be accepted as an absolute and final settlement of the dispute. His good offices were accepted by both Governments, and the case was submitted for his decision. This was known as "The Carnarvon Terms," and is embodied in the following minute of the Council, which explains the different phases of the dispute very fully:—

*Report of a Committee of the Honorable Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Administrator of the Government-in-Council, on the 20th September, 1875.*

The Committee of Council have had under consideration the difficulties arising out of the agreement made in 1871, for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Mr. Edgar's mission to British Columbia last year was based upon the view that the conditions of that agreement were quite impracticable of fulfilment. The proposals submitted by him to the British Columbia Government were, briefly, that the limitation of time be given up. Canada should undertake that one million and a half of dollars should be expended upon construction within that Province in each year after location, and that a waggon road along the line of the proposed railway construction should precede actual railway construction.

It was further proposed to build a railway on Vancouver Island from Esquimalt to Nanaimo.

The propositions were either not considered by the Government of British Columbia, or, if considered, they were rejected by them, and they subsequently appealed to the Imperial Government, invoking their intervention. The result of this appeal was an offer from the Right Honorable Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, of his good offices to promote a settlement.

The Privy Council, in their minute of the 23rd July, 1874 advised, "that Lord Carnarvon be informed that they would gladly submit the question to him for his decision, as to whether the exertions of the Government, the diligence shown, and the offers made, have or have not been fair and just, in accordance with the spirit of the agreement. Lord Carnarvon, in his despatch of August 16th, acting upon this minute and upon agreement on the part of British Columbia, to abide by his decision, made

certain suggestions, of which the most important were—that the amount of yearly expenditure within the Province after location, should be not less than two millions of dollars ; that the period of completion should be the year 1890, and that the railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo should be at once commenced.

The Canadian Government, in their minute of Council of Sept. 17th, stated, “that, while in no case could the Government undertake the completion of the whole line in the time mentioned, and extreme unwillingness exists to another limitation of time, yet, if it be found absolutely necessary to secure a present settlement of the controversy by further concessions, a pledge may be given that the portion west of Lake Superior will be completed, so as to afford connection by rail with existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States, and by Canadian waters during the season of navigation, by the year 1890, as suggested.”

It was further agreed that after location two millions should be expended yearly upon construction in British Columbia, and that a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo be built.

It must be borne in mind that every step in the negotiations was necessarily predicated upon, and subject to the conditions of the resolution of the House of Commons, passed in 1871, contemporaneously with the adoption of the Terms of Union with British Columbia, subsequently enacted in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1872, and subsequently re-enacted (after a large addition had been made to the rate of taxation) in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1874, that the public aid to be given to secure the accomplishment of the undertaking, “should consist of such liberal grants of land, and such subsidy in money or other aid, not increasing the then existing rate of taxation, as the Parliament of Canada should thereafter determine.”

This determination not to involve the country in a hopeless burden of debt is sustained by public opinion everywhere throughout the Dominion, and must of necessity control the action of the Government ; and it cannot be too clearly understood that any agreements as to yearly expenditure, and as to completion by a fixed time, must be subject to the condition thrice repeated in the journal of Parliament, that no further increase in the rate of taxation shall be required in order to their fulfilment.

The sanction of Parliament to the construction of the proposed railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo was necessarily a condition precedent to the commencement of the work.

The other important feature of the arrangement, namely, the limitation of time for the completion of a certain portion, and the specification of a yearly expenditure, was deemed to be within the meaning of the Pacific Railway Act, 1874, subject, of course, to the condition already men-



Hon. John Norquay.





tioned, and which was referred to in the Minutes of Council of December 18th, 1874, when the Government "expressed a willingness to make those further concessions rather than forego an immediate settlement of so irritating a question as the concessions suggested might be made, without involving the violation of the spirit of any parliamentary resolution, or the letter of any enactment."

The proposed railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo does not form a portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as defined by the Act; it was intended to benefit local interests, and was proposed as compensation for the disappointment experienced by the unavoidable delay in constructing the railway across the continent. The work is essentially a local one, and there are obvious reasons against the Canadian Government, under ordinary circumstances, undertaking the construction of such works, and in favor of their being built, if at all, by the virtue of Provincial action.

The Bill which the Government introduced into the House of Commons, to provide for building this railway, evoked a considerable degree of opposition in that House and in the country, and although passed by the House of Commons, it was afterwards rejected in the Senate; and thus there is imposed upon the Government the duty of considering some other method of meeting all just expectations of the people of British Columbia, whose Government has not suggested to this Government any solution of the difficulty.

It would seem reasonable that the people of British Columbia should construct this work themselves, or (if they think other local public works more advantageous), should, in lieu of this, themselves undertake such other public works, and that the compensation to be given them by Canada for any delays which may take place in the construction of the Pacific Railway, should be in the form of a cash bonus, to be applied towards the local railway or such other local works as the Legislature of British Columbia may undertake, Canada also surrendering any claim to lands which may have been reserved in Vancouver Island for railway purposes.

The sum of \$750,000 would appear to the committee to be a liberal compensation, and the committee advise that the Government of British Columbia be informed that this Government is prepared to propose to Parliament, at its next session, the legislation necessary to carry out the views contained in this minute, as to the construction of the Pacific Railway and the compensation to be given to British Columbia for delays in such construction.

The committee further advise that a copy of this minute be transmitted to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

W. A. HIMSWORTH,  
*Clerk Privy Council, Canada.*



It will be observed that the Bill providing for the immediate construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo branch was defeated in the Senate, and the Government were thus prevented from carrying out the "Carnarvon Terms," and offered, as a compensation, the sum of \$750,000. This offer was promptly refused by British Columbia, and the question of seceding from the Dominion was seriously discussed. So bitter was the feeling in the Pacific Province, that a petition was presented to the Queen, with the sanction of the Provincial Legislature, praying that the Province should be allowed to secede from the Dominion, unless the terms were carried out. On the occasion of Lord Dufferin's visit in 1876, the mottoes on the arches erected in his honor, in the streets of Victoria, all had reference to the railway question. Some of these read, "United without Union," "Carnarvon Terms," "Confederated without Confederation," and one, especially defiant, displayed the legend, "Carnarvon Terms or Separation." As the vice-regal carriage approached this arch, His Lordship was informed of the offensive motto. The procession was halted, Lord Dufferin asked for the reception committee, and on their appearance gave a splendid example of that never-failing tact and ready wit for which he was justly famed.

"Gentlemen," said he to the assembled committee-men, "I will go under your beautiful arch on one condition. I won't ask you to do much, I beg but a trifling favor. I only ask that you allow me to suggest a slight change in the phrase you have set up. I merely ask you to alter one letter in your motto. Turn the 'S' into an 'R'—make it 'Carnarvon and Reparation,' and I will gladly pass under it."

It is scarcely creditable to the good taste of the parties responsible for the erection of the arch, putting loyalty out of

the question, to have to record that they brusquely refused Lord Dufferin's gentlemanly, and entirely reasonable request, and obliged him to continue his progress through the back streets of the city. His Lordship took occasion to refer to this incident in the famous speech he delivered on the eve of his departure from Victoria, in which he reviewed the whole case of British Columbia and the Dominion in masterly style, and from which we reproduce an extract, as it explains the facts in dispute with great accuracy. His Lordship, after tracing the history of the railway dispute from its inception, said :—

Well, then, we now come to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. I am well aware of the extraordinary importance you attach to this work, and of course I am perfectly ready to admit that its immediate execution was promised to you in the most definite and absolute manner under Lord Carnarvon's arbitration. I am not, therefore, surprised at the irritation and excitement occasioned in this city by the non-fulfilment of this item in the agreement—nay, I wish to go further, I think it extremely natural that the miscarriage of this part of the bargain should have been productive of very strenuous language and deeply embittered feelings, nor am I surprised that, as is almost certain to follow on such occasions, you should in your vexation put a very injurious construction on the conduct of those who had undertaken to realise your hopes ; but still I know I am addressing high-minded and reasonable men, and moreover, that you are perfectly convinced that I would sooner cut my right hand off than utter a single word that I do not know to be an absolute truth. Two years have passed since the Canadian Government undertook to commence the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, and the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway is not even commenced, and what is more, there does not at present seem the remotest prospect of its being commenced. What, then, is the history of the case, and who is answerable for your disappointment? I know you consider Mr. Mackenzie. I am not here to defend Mr. Mackenzie, his policy, his proceedings, or his utterances. I hope this will be clearly understood. In anything I have hitherto said, I have done nothing of this sort, nor do I intend to do so. I have merely stated to you certain matters, with which I thought it well for you to be acquainted, because they have been misrepresented, and what I now tell you are also matters of fact within

my own cognizance, and which have no relation to Mr. Mackenzie as the head of a political party, and I tell them to you not only in your interests, but in the interest of public morality and English honor. In accordance with his engagements to you in relation to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, Mr. Mackenzie introduced, as soon as it was possible, a bill into the Canadian House of Commons, the clauses of which were admitted by your representatives in Parliament, fully to discharge his obligations to yourselves and to Lord Carnarvon in respect of that undertaking, and carried it through the Lower House by a large majority. I have reason to think that many of his supporters voted for the bill with very great misgivings as to the policy of the measure, and the intrinsic merits of the railway, but their leader had pledged himself to exercise his Parliamentary influence to pass it, and they very properly carried it through for him. It went up to the Senate, and was thrown out by that body by a majority of two. Well, I have learned with regret that there is a very wide-spread conviction in this community that Mr. Mackenzie had surreptitiously procured the defeat of his own measure in the Upper House. Had Mr. Mackenzie dealt so treacherously by Lord Carnarvon, by the representative of his Sovereign in this country, or by you, he would have been guilty of a most atrocious act, of which I trust no public man in Canada, or in any other British Colony, could be capable. I tell you in the most emphatic terms, and I pledge my own honor on the point, that Mr. Mackenzie was not guilty of any such base and deceitful conduct; had I thought him guilty of it, either he would have ceased to be Prime Minister or I should have left the country. But the very contrary was the fact. While these events were passing, I was in constant personal communication with Mr. Mackenzie. I naturally watched the progress of the Bill with the greatest anxiety, because I was aware of the eagerness with which the Act was desired in Victoria, and because I had long felt the deepest sympathy with you in the succession of disappointments to which, by the force of circumstances, you had been exposed. When the Bill passed the House of Commons by a large majority, with the assent of the leader of the Opposition, in common with every one else, I concluded it was safe, and the adverse vote of the Senate took me as much by surprise as it did you and the rest of the world. I saw Mr. Mackenzie the next day, and I have seldom seen a man more annoyed or disconcerted than he was; indeed, he was driven at that interview to protest with more warmth than he had ever used against the decision of the English Government, which had refused, on the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, to allow him to add to the members of the Senate, after Prince Edward had entered Confederation. "Had I been permitted," he said to me, "to have exercised my rights in that respect, this would not have happened, but how can these mischances be prevented in a body, the ma-

jority of which have been nominated by my political opponent, who is naturally hostile to me?" Now, gentlemen, your acquaintance with Parliamentary government must tell you that this last observation of Mr. Mackenzie was a perfectly just one. But my attention has been drawn to the fact that two of Mr. Mackenzie's party supported his Conservative opponents in the rejection of the Bill, but surely you don't imagine that a Prime Minister can deal with his supporters in the Senate as if they were a regiment of soldiers. In the House of Commons he has a better chance of maintaining party discipline, for the constituencies are very apt to resent an insubordination, on the part of their members, towards the leader of their choice. But a Senator is equally independent of the Crown, the Minister, or the people, and as in the House of Lords at home, so in the Second Chamber of Canada, gentlemen will run from time to time on the wrong side of the post. But it has been observed—granting that the two members in question did not vote as they did at Mr. Mackenzie's instigation—he has exhibited his perfidy in not sending in his resignation as soon as the Senate had pronounced against the Bill. Now, gentlemen, you cannot expect me to discuss Mr. Mackenzie's conduct in that respect. It would be very improper for me to do so, but though I cannot discuss Mr. Mackenzie's conduct, I am perfectly at liberty to tell you what I myself should have done had Mr. Mackenzie tendered to me his resignation. I should have told him that in my opinion such a course was quite unjustifiable; that as the House of Commons was then constituted, I saw no prospect of the Queen's Government being advantageously carried on except under his leadership, and that were he to resign at this time the greatest inconvenience and detriment would ensue to the public service. That is what I should have said to Mr. Mackenzie in the event contemplated, and I have no doubt that the Parliament and the people of Canada would have confirmed my decision. But it has been furthermore urged that Mr. Mackenzie ought to have re-introduced the Bill. Well, that is again a point I cannot discuss, but I may tell you this, that if Mr. Mackenzie had done so, I very much doubt that he would have succeeded in carrying it a second time even in the House of Commons. The fact is that Canada at large, whether rightly or wrongly I do not say, has unmistakably shown its approval of the vote in the Senate. An opinion has come to prevail from one end of the Dominion to the other, an opinion which I find is acquiesced in by a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of British Columbia, that the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway cannot stand upon its own merits and that its construction as a Government enterprise would be, at all events at present, a useless expenditure of the public money. Now, again, let me assure you that I am not presuming to convey to you any opinion of my own on this much-contested point. Even did I entertain any misgivings on the subject, it would be very un-



gracious for me to parade them in your presence, and on such an occasion. I am merely communicating to you my conjecture why it is that Mr. Mackenzie has shown no signs of his intention to re-introduce the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway Bill into Parliament, viz., because he knew he had no chance of getting it passed. Well then, gentlemen, of whom and what have you to complain? Well, you have every right, from your point of view, to complain of the Canadian Senate. You have a right to say that, after the Government of the day had promised that a measure upon which a majority of the inhabitants of an important Province has set their hearts should be passed, it is ill advised and unhandsome of that body not to confirm the natural expectation which had been thus engendered in your breasts, especially when that work was itself offered as a solatium to you for a previous injury. I fully admit that it is a very great step for either House of the Legislature, and particularly for that which is not the popular branch, to disavow any agreement into which the Executive may have entered, except under a very absolute sense of public duty. Mind, I am not saying that this is not such a case, but I say that you have got a perfect right, from your own point of view, not to regard it. But, gentlemen, that is all. You have got no right to go beyond that. You have no right to describe yourselves as a second time the victims of a broken agreement. I have shown you the persons who had entered into an engagement, in regard to this railway, with you and Lord Carnarvon, and had done their very best to discharge their obligation. But the Senate who counteracted their intention had given no preliminary promises whatever, either to you or to the Secretary of State. They rejected the Bill in the legitimate exercise of their constitutional functions, and there is nothing more to be said on this head so far as that body is concerned, either by you or Lord Carnarvon, for I need not assure you that there is not the slightest chance that any Secretary of State in Downing Street would attempt anything so unconstitutional—so likely to kindle a flame throughout the whole Dominion—as to coerce the free legislative action of her Legislature. But there is one thing I admit the Senate has done; it has revived in their integrity those original treaty obligations, on the strength of which you were induced to enter Confederation, and it has reimposed upon Mr. Mackenzie and his Government the obligation of offering you an equivalent for this stipulation in the “Carnarvon terms” which he has not been able to make good. Now, from the very strong language which has been used in regard to the conduct of Mr. Mackenzie, a bystander would be led to imagine that as soon as his Railway Bill had miscarried, he cynically refused to take any further action in the matter. Had my Government done so, they would have exposed themselves to the severest reprehension, and such conduct would have been both faithless to you and disrespectful to Lord Carnarvon; but so far from having acted



in this manner, Mr. Mackenzie has offered you a very considerable grant of money in consideration of your disappointment. Now, here again, I will not touch upon the irritating controversies which have circled around this particular step in these transactions. I am well aware that you consider this offer to have been made under conditions you have reason to complain of. If this has been the case, it is most unfortunate, but still whatever may have been the sinister incidents connected with the past, the one solid fact remains, that the Canadian Government has offered you \$750,000 in lieu of the railway. This sum has been represented to me as totally inadequate, and as very far short of an equivalent. It may be so, or it may not be so. Neither upon that point will I offer an opinion, but still I may mention to you the principle upon which that sum has been arrived at. Under the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway Bill, whose rejection by the Senate we have been considering, Canada was to have contributed a bonus of \$10,000 a mile; the total distance of the line is about seventy miles, consequently this \$750,000 is nothing more or less than this very bonus converted into a lump sum. Now, since I have come here, it has been represented to me by the friends of the railway, that it is a line capable of standing on its own merits, and that a company had been almost induced to take it up some time ago as an unsubsidized enterprise. Nay, only yesterday the local paper which is the most strenuous champion of the line, asserted that it could be built for \$2,000,000; that the lands—which, with the \$750,000 were to be replaced by Mr. Mackenzie at your disposal—were worth several millions more, and that the railway itself would prove a most paying concern. If this is so—and what better authority can I refer to—is it not obvious that the bonus proposal of the Dominion Government assumes, at least, the semblance of a fair offer, and even if you did not consider it absolutely up to the mark, it should not have been denounced in the very strong language which has been used. However, I do not wish to discuss the point whether the \$750,000 was a sufficient offer or not. I certainly am not empowered to hold out to you any hope of an advance; all that I would venture to submit is, that Mr. Mackenzie having been thwarted in his *bona fide* endeavor to fulfil this special item in the “Carnarvon Terms,” has adopted the only course left to him in proposing to discharge his obligation by a money payment. I confess I should have thought this would be the most natural solution of the problem, and that the payment of a sum of money equivalent to the measure of Mr. Mackenzie’s original obligation to be expended under whatever conditions would be most immediately advantageous to the Province, and ultimately beneficial to the Dominion, would not have been an unnatural remedy for the misadventure which has stultified this special stipulation in regard to the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, but of course of these matters you

yourselves are the better judges, and I certainly have not the slightest desire to suggest to you any course which you may think contrary to your interests. My only object in touching upon them at all is to disabuse your minds of the idea that there has been any intention upon the part of Mr. Mackenzie, his Government, or of Canada, to break their faith with you. Every single item of the "Carnarvon Terms" is at this moment in the course of fulfilment. At enormous expense the surveys have been pressed forward to completion, the fifty millions of land, the thirty millions of money to be provided for by Canada under the Bill are ready, the profiles of the main line have been taken out and the most elaborate information has been sent over to Europe in regard to every section of the country through which it passes, several thousand miles of the stipulated telegraph have been laid down, and now that the western terminus seems to have been determined, though upon this point I have myself no information, tenders, I imagine, will be called for almost immediately. Whatever further steps may be necessary to float the undertaking as a commercial enterprise will be adopted, and the promised waggon road will necessarily follow *pari passu* with construction. Well, then, gentlemen, how will you stand under these circumstances? You will have got your line to Bute Inlet. Now I will communicate to you a conclusion I have arrived at from my visit to that locality. If the Pacific Railway once comes to Bute Inlet it cannot stop there. It may pause there for a considerable time until Canadian trans-Pacific traffic with Australia, China, and Japan shall have begun to expand, but such a traffic once set going Waddington Harbor will no longer serve as a terminal port; in fact it is no harbor at all, and scarcely an anchorage; the railway must be prolonged under these circumstances to Esquimalt; that is to say if the deliberate opinion of the engineers should pronounce the operation feasible, and Canada shall in the meantime have acquired the additional financial stability which would justify her undertaking what under any circumstances must prove one of the most gigantic achievements the world has ever witnessed. In that case, of course, the Nanaimo Railway springs into existence of its own accord, and you will then be in possession of your money compensation and of the thing for which it was paid, and with this result I do not think you should be ill-satisfied. But should the contrary be the case, the prospect is indeed a gloomy one; should hasty counsels and the exhibition of an impracticable spirit throw these arrangements into confusion, interrupt or change our present railway programme, and necessitate any re-arrangement of your political relations, I fear Victoria would be the chief sufferer. I scarcely like to allude to such a contingency; nor, gentlemen, are my observations directed immediately to you, for I know very well that neither do those whom I am addressing, nor the great majority of the inhabitants of Vancouver or of Victoria

participate in the views to which I am about to refer, but still a certain number of your fellow citizens, gentlemen, with whom I have had a great deal of pleasant and interesting conversation, and who have shown me personally the greatest kindness and courtesy, have sought to impress me with the belief that if the Legislature of Canada is not compelled by some means or other, which, however, they do not specify, to make forthwith these seventy miles of railway, they will be strong enough, in the face of Mr. Mackenzie's offer of a money equivalent, to take British Columbia out of the Confederation. Well, they certainly won't be able to do that. I am now in a position to judge for myself as to what are the real sentiments of the community. I will even presume to say that I know immeasurably more about it than these gentlemen themselves. When once the main line of the Pacific Railway is under way, the whole population of the mainland would be perfectly contented with the present situation of affairs, and will never dream of detaching their fortunes from those of Her Majesty's great Dominion. Nay, I do not believe that these gentlemen would be able to persuade their fellow citizens, even of the Island of Vancouver, to so violent a course. But granting for a moment that their influence should prevail, what would be the result? British Columbia would still be part and parcel of Canada. The great work of Confederation would not be perceptibly affected. But the proposed line of the Pacific Railway might possibly be deflected south. New Westminster would certainly become the capital of the Province; the Dominion would naturally use its best endeavors to build it up into a flourishing and prosperous city. It would be the seat of Government and the home of justice, as well as the chief social centre on the Pacific Coast. Burrard Inlet would become a great commercial port, and the miners of Cariboo, with their stores of gold dust, would spend their festive and open-handed winters there. Great Britain would, of course, retain Esquimalt as a naval station on this coast, as she has retained Halifax as a naval station on the other, and inasmuch as a constituency of some 1,500 persons would not be able to supply the material for a Parliamentary Government, Vancouver and its inhabitants, who are now influential by reason of their intelligence rather than their numbers, would be ruled as Jamaica, Malta, Gibraltar, Heligoland, and Ascension are ruled through the instrumentality of some naval or other officer. Nanaimo would become the principal town of the Island, and Victoria would lapse for many a long year into the condition of a village, until the development of your coal fields, and the growth of a healthier sentiment, had prepared the way for its re-incorporation with the rest of the Province; at least, that is the horoscope I should draw for it in the contingency contemplated by these gentlemen. But God forbid that any such prophecy should be realized. I believe the gentlemen I have referred to are the very last who would desire to see the fulfilment

of their menaces, and I hope they will forgive me if I am not intimidated by their formidable representations. When some pertinacious philosopher insisted on assailing the late King of the Belgians with a rhapsody on the beauties of a republican government, His Majesty replied, "You forget, sir, that I am a Royalist by profession." Well, a Governor-General is a Federalist by profession, and you might as well expect the Sultan of Turkey to throw up his cap for the commune as the Viceroy of Canada to entertain a suggestion for the disintegration of the Dominion. I hope, therefore, they will not bear me any ill will for having declined to bow my head beneath their "separation" arch. It was a very good-humored, and certainly not a disloyal bit of "bounce," which they had prepared for me. I suppose they wished me to know they were the "arch" enemies of Canada. Well, I have made them an arch reply. But, gentlemen, of course I am not serious in discussing such a contingency as that to which I have referred. Your numerical weakness as a community is your real strength, for it is a consideration which appeals to every generous heart. Far be the day when, on any acre of soil above which floats the flag of Eng'land, mere material power, brute political preponderance, should be permitted to decide such a controversy as that which we are discussing. It is to men like yourselves who, with unfailing fortitude and heroic energy, have planted the laws and liberties, and the blessed influence of English homes, amidst the wilds and rocks, and desert plains of savage lands, that England owes the enhancement of her prestige, the diffusion of her tongue, the increase of her commerce, and her ever-widening renown, and woe betide the Government or statesmen who, because its inhabitants are few in number and politically of small account, should disregard the wishes, or carelessly dismiss the representations, however bluff, boisterous, or downright, of the feeblest of our distant colonies. No, gentlemen, neither England nor Canada would be content or happy in any settlement that was not arrived at with your own hearty approval and consent and was equally satisfactory to every section of your Province; but we appeal to your moderation and practical good sense to assist us in resolving the present difficulty. The genius of the English race has ever been too robust and sensible to admit the existence of an irreconcilable element in its midst. It is only among the weak and hysterical populations that such a growth can flourish. However hard the blows given and taken during the contest, Britishers always find a means of making up the quarrel, and such, I trust, will be the case on the present occasion. My functions as a constitutional ruler are simply to superintend the working of the political machine, but not to intermeddle with its actions. I trust I have observed that rule on the present occasion, and that, although I have addressed you at considerable length, I have not said a word which has not been strictly within my province to say, or have intruded on those do-



mains which are reserved for the action of my responsible advisers. As I warned you, would be the case, I have made no announcement, I have made no promise, I hazarded no opinion upon any of the administrative questions now occupying the joint attention of yourselves and the Dominion. I have only endeavored to correct some misapprehensions by which you have been possessed in regard to matters of historical fact, and I have testified to the kind feelings entertained for you by your fellow subjects in Canada, and to the desire of my Government for the re-establishment of the friendliest and kindest relations between you and themselves, and I trust that I may carry away with me the conviction that from henceforth a less angry and irritated feeling towards Canada will have been inaugurated than has hitherto subsisted. Of my own earnest desire to do everything I can, and to forward your views, so far as they may be founded in justice and reason, I need not speak, my presence here and the way in which I have spent my time, will have convinced you of what has been the object nearest my heart. I cannot say how glad I am to have come, or how much I have profited by my visit, and I assure you none of the representations with which I have been favored will escape my memory or fail to be duly submitted in the proper quarter.

And now, gentlemen, I must bid you good bye ; but before doing so there is one topic upon which I am desirous of touching. From my first arrival in Canada, I have been very much pre-occupied with the condition of the Indian population in this Province. You must remember that the Indian population are not represented in Parliament, and consequently that the Governor-General is bound to watch over their welfare with special solicitude. Now we must all admit that the condition of the Indian question in British Columbia is not satisfactory. Most unfortunately, as I think, there has been an initial error, ever since Sir James Douglas quitted office, in the Government of British Columbia neglecting to recognize what is known as the Indian title. In Canada this has always been done ; no Government, whether Provincial or Central, has failed to acknowledge that the original title to the land existed in the Indian tribes and communities that hunted or wandered over them. Before we touch an acre we make a treaty with the chiefs representing the bands we are dealing with, and having agreed upon and paid the stipulated price, oftentimes arrived at after a great deal of haggling and difficulty, we enter into possession, but not until then do we consider that we are entitled to deal with an acre. The result has been that in Canada our Indians are contented, well-affected to the white man, and amenable to the laws and Government. At this very moment the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba has gone on a distant expedition in order to make a treaty with the tribes to the northward of the Saskatchewan. Last year he made two treaties with the Crees and Chippewas ; next year it has been arranged



that he should make a treaty with the Blackfeet, and when this is done the British Crown will have acquired a title to every acre that lies between Lake Superior and the top of the Rocky Mountains. But in British Columbia—except in a few cases where under the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company, or under the auspices of Sir James Douglas, a similar practice has been adopted—the Provincial Government has always assumed that the fee simple in, as well as the sovereignty over, the land resided in the Queen. Acting upon this principle, they have granted extensive grazing leases, and otherwise so dealt with various sections of the country as greatly to restrict or interfere with the prescriptive rights of the Queen's Indian subjects. As a consequence, there has come to exist an unsatisfactory feeling amongst the Indian population. Intimation of this reached me at Ottawa two or three years ago, and since I have come into the Province my misgivings on the subject have been confirmed. Now I consider that our Indian fellow subjects are entitled to exactly the same civil rights under the law as are possessed by the white population, and that if any Indian can prove a prescriptive right of way to a fishing station, or a right of any other kind; that that right should be no more ignored than if it was the case of a white man. I am well aware that among the coast Indians the land question does not present the same characteristics as in other parts of Canada, or as it does in the grass countries of the interior of this Province, but I am very happy that the British Columbian Government should have recognized the necessity of assisting the Dominion Government in ameliorating the present condition of affairs in this respect, and that it has agreed to the creation of a joint commission for the purpose of putting the interests of the Indian population on a satisfactory footing. Of course, in what I have said, I do not mean that, in our desire to be humane and to act justly, we should do anything unreasonable or Quixotic, or that rights already acquired by white men should be inconsiderately invaded or recalled, but I would venture to put the Government of British Columbia on its guard against the fatal eventualities which might arise, should a sense of injustice provoke the Indian population to violence, or into a collision with our settled settlers. Probably there has gone forth amongst them very incorrect and exaggerated information of the warlike achievements of their brethren in Dakota, and their uneducated minds are capable of calculating chances. Of course there is no danger of any serious or permanent revolt, but it must be remembered that even an accidental collision in which blood was shed, might have a disastrous effect upon our present satisfactory relations with the warlike tribes in the North-West, whose amity and adhesion to our system of government is so essential to the progress of the Pacific Railway, and I make this appeal, as I may call it, with all the more earnestness since I have

convinced myself of the degree to which, if properly dealt with, the Indian population might be made to contribute to the development of the wealth and resources of the Province. I have now seen them in all phases of their existence, from the half-naked savage, perched like a bird of prey in an old blanket upon a rock trying to catch his miserable dinner of fish, to the neat Indian maidens in Mr. Duncan's school at Metlakatlah, as modest and as well dressed as any clergyman's daughter in an English parish, or to the shrewd horse-riding Siwash of the Thompson Valley with his racers in training for the Ashcroft stakes, and as proud of his stack-yard and turnip field as a British squire. In his first condition it is evident he is scarcely a producer or consumer, in his second, he is eminently both ; and in proportion, as he can be raised to the higher level of civilization, will be the degree to which he will contribute to the vital energies of the Province. What you want are not resources, but human beings to develop them and to consume them. Raise your 30,000 Indians to the level Mr. Duncan has taught us they can be brought, and consider what an enormous amount of vital power you will have added to your present strength. But I must not keep you longer. I thank you most heartily for your patience and attention. Most earnestly do I desire the accomplishment of all your aspirations, and if ever I have the good fortune to come to British Columbia again, I hope it may be—by rail.

This eloquent appeal to the good sense and loyalty of the British Columbians produced an excellent effect, and calmed the storm of public sentiment which had threatened the disruption of the young Dominion : but the unfortunate dispute was not finally settled until after the defeat of the Mackenzie administration, and the arrangement of new terms acceptable to the Province.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### LAND POLICY OF THE MACKENZIE GOVERNMENT.

IN 1876, after the close of the session of the Dominion Parliament, the policy of the Government in regard to railways in the North-West was described as follows:—"The C.P.R. line from Thunder Bay to be pushed as rapidly to completion as possible. The Pembina branch to remain untouched until the American connection was completed. The water stretches to be utilized, and boats placed thereon to connect the system of the Red River with the Rockies. No activity in surveys to be expected beyond the actual requirements of the Settlement Belt, Indian Reserve, and Transcontinental surveys already undertaken."

Indeed the outlook for the energetic prosecution of the railway interests of the country were by no means bright, and the people in the North-West were correspondingly despondent.

In June, 1876, the following advertisement appeared in a number of the newspapers of the Dominion:—

#### CANADA PACIFIC RAILWAY.

##### PROPOSALS FOR CONSTRUCTION.

The Government of Canada expect to be able, on or before

JANUARY, 1877,

To invite "Tenders for Building and Working" the sections between "Lake Superior and the Pacific Ocean," under the provisions of the Canada Pacific Railway Act, 1874.

This Act (after reciting that it is expedient to provide for the construction of the work as rapidly as it can be accomplished without further raising the rate of taxation), enacts that the contractors for its construction and working, shall receive lands, or the proceeds of lands, at the rate of 20,000 acres, and cash at the rate of \$10,000 for each mile of railway constructed, together with interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum, for twenty-five years from the completion of the work, on any further sum which may be stipulated in the contract; and the Act requires parties tendering to state in their offers the lowest sum, if any, per mile on which such interest will be required.

Copies of the Act, Maps showing the general route so far as at present settled, the published reports of Engineers, and such other information as is now available, can be seen at the Canadian Emigration Agency, in London, England, and at the Public Works Department, Ottawa.

This intimation is given in order to afford to all parties interested the fullest opportunity of examination and enquiry.

By Order,

F. BRAUN,

Secretary Dept. of Public Works.

Department of Public Works,

Ottawa 29th May, 1876.

On the appearance of this advertisement, the Government were assailed by their opponents for having departed from their original policy of building the road themselves, without the intervention of a company, but, as will be seen, there was nothing contrary to the act of 1874 in the action they now proposed taking. It was becoming apparent, however, to the public, that the undertaking of the construction of a transcontinental line was somewhat beyond the power of the Mackenzie Government to cope with, and the frequent changes in their policy in connection with the work was not calculated to inspire confidence in their ability to carry it out.

The advertisement quoted above did not succeed in inducing capitalists to undertake the construction, and the work was proceeded with, under Government supervision, between Lake Superior and Red River, but nothing was done towards

the extension of the line westward of the latter, except the letting of a contract for one section of 100 miles. In July, 1876, the first locomotive was placed on the rails at Thunder Bay, and track-laying was pushed forward to Shebandowan.

The Pacific Railway Act of 1874 provided for the reservation of large blocks of land along the line, with the proviso, that when land of poor quality occurred in the immediate vicinity of the line, it should be taken from some other place, to be determined by the Governor-General-in-Council. This necessitated the locking up of an immense tract of territory, as the line had not been definitely located, from the operation of the homestead law, and was looked upon as a great hardship by those who had come to the country with the hope of obtaining land within a reasonable distance of or on the line of railway. The Manitoba members in the House of Commons protested vigorously against this arrangement, and the agitation for a change was persistent, but it was only in November, 1877, that the Government consented to relax the conditions. The railway reserves were then thrown open to actual settlers, on the following conditions: A settler might purchase to the extent of 320 acres, paying therefor such price as might be eventually fixed by the Government. He was required to settle on the land within one year from entry, and at the time of entry pay an instalment of \$1 per acre on his purchase. Persons who had squatted on railway lands after they had been reserved were required to enter such land forthwith at the Lands Office, and pay an instalment of \$1 per acre. No scrip was to be accepted in payment for such land. Under the Railway Act, the Government had no power to fix the price of land in the reserves except in conjunction with the contractors, so that the purchasers were left totally



in the dark as to the price they would eventually be called upon to pay for their holdings. This phase of Mr. Mackenzie's policy, though warmly defended by the Government's organs in Ontario, was regarded as a monstrously unjust piece of legislation by the press and people of Manitoba. Hon. David Mills, Minister of the Interior, visited the North-West in the summer of 1877, and, as a result of his personal observations, the law was changed slightly. Purchasers of railway lands were given one year within which to pay the first instalment, and payment in scrip was allowed. These concessions were rendered necessary by the poverty of many of the squatters, who could not have complied with the former regulations; and many new settlers purchased land in the railway belt, rightly calculating that the Government would deal fairly with them in the matter of fixing a price, when the time for final settlement arrived.

At the time of the transfer, the principal settlements were situated on each side of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. In the former case, extending from near the mouth of the river up to the Parish of St. Norbert inclusive, and from thence up to Pembina, a few claims had been taken on both sides of the stream. On the Assiniboine settlements existed from its confluence with the Red River at Fort Garry up to, and including the Parish of Portage la Prairie, but the settlement was by no means continuous between the points mentioned. There was, therefore, in the Settlement Belt, as it was called, a tract of some 150,000 acres of vacant Dominion lands, less one-twentieth which would belong to the Hudson's Bay Company under their terms of surrender. All this land was also withdrawn from sale or settlement, notwithstanding the fact that a great number of persons had gone into occupation and made

improvements, with the intention of holding the lands as homesteads, or purchasing, when the Government should be prepared to deal with them. For a long time the Government neglected to deal with these lands, but after Mr. Mills's visit a uniform price of \$5 per acre was placed upon them, and the privilege of paying in scrip was granted. At that time scrip could be purchased at fifty per cent. of its face value, which brought the price of river lots in the Settlement Belt down to \$2.50 per acre.

The Manitoba Act granted "to all persons in peaceable possession of tracts of land at the time of the transfer to Canada, in those parts of the Province in which the Indian title had not been extinguished, the right of pre-emption of the same on such terms and conditions as might be determined by the Governor-in-Council." This provision of the act was taken advantage of by a great many persons, principally Half-Breeds and old settlers, who took up claims in various parts of the country, individually and in small communities, and these were known as "Staked Claims." It was held by the Government that *bona fide* occupation by the claimants was required to be shown to have existed at the time of the transfer, while the claimants contended that the staking out fulfilled the requirement of the act.

As early as 1872, a deputation of these claimants waited upon Lieutenant-Governor Morris to ask for their recognition, on which occasion they were informed that the mere staking-out of a claim would not entitle people to land. Other deputations sought interviews with the authorities from time to time on the same subject, and invariably received the same answer. On April 26th, 1876, the matter was dealt with in the following Order-in-Council :—

On a memorandum dated 29th January, 1876, from the Honorable the Minister of the Interior, reporting the existence of certain claims to land in Manitoba, which, he states, do not come clearly within those provided for by the law as it now stands, the Minister states that these claims may be described and classified as follows, that is to say :

1. The lands taken up antecedent to a date six months previous to the transfer of the North-West Territories to the Dominion, in accordance with the usage of the country as recognized by the Council of Assiniboia, such proceeding being to employ one of the two surveyors in the colony to survey and lay out the land. In some cases, the minister observes, the persons so taking up land must have entered into, and have remained in constant occupation thereof ; in others, little or no improvement was made ; but the ownership of the lands has always been recognized in the community.

2. Lands alleged to have been taken up, but which were not surveyed as above or occupied, but merely marked out by the claimants by stakes, prior to 15th July, 1870.

As regards the first of the two classes described above, the minister, in view of the fact that such was the usage in the Red River Settlement in acquiring lands previous to the transfer, recommended that such claims be allowed, and suggests, with that view, that a return of all such be made by the agent of Dominion Lands, upon which the necessary authority may be obtained for granting patents for the same.

The second class, the minister submits, are not entitled to consideration.

He remarks that the mode proposed of dealing with the above two classes is consistent with the opinion of the Honorable the Minister of Justice in respect of such claims.

The Committee report the foregoing recommendations for your Excellency's approval.

W. A. HIMSWORTH,

C. P. C.

The effect of the publication of this Order-in-Council was a rush of applicants to the Lands Office, to have their claims included in the return ordered, which led to the following correspondence :—

(Telegram.)

WINNIPEG, 22nd Oct., 1877.

To the Surveyor-General, Ottawa

Nearly half the staked claims have small improvements recently made, such as shanty or small field. Am proceeding with allotment of French parishes, reserving from forty to one hundred and sixty acres, covering

such improvements according to their extent and value. Is this course approved? Answer.

DONALD CADD,  
*Agent.*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
DOMINION LANDS OFFICE,  
OTTAWA, 24th Oct., 1877.

SIR—The subject alluded to in your telegram of the 22nd instant has received consideration at the hands of the Minister.

It is inexpedient to indicate to you by wire the Minister's views in the matter, on account of the expense involved; I am, therefore, to proceed to inform you by letter.

The Minister is of the opinion that without some really valuable improvements have been made upon the lands severally claimed, which latter, it is assumed, come under Clause No. 2, described in the Order-in-Council of the 26th April, 1876, the parties claiming are not entitled to favorable consideration.

Where valuable improvements, however, have been made, you are at liberty to carry out the proposition set forth in your telegram, but the land withdrawn in any individual case, without the area cultivated, should actually exceed that quantity, is not to be of greater extent than eighty acres.

In all cases of this nature, the claimant must pay for the land in cash or scrip, at the Government price of one dollar per acre; and, as regards the withdrawal of lands so claimed, and improvements thereon, the Minister directs that you be governed by the following principle:—

No land to be withdrawn where less improvements have been effected than five acres fenced, with a house thereon; or ten acres fenced without a house; improvements to such an extent to entitle the claimant to the purchase of the legal sub-divisions of forty acres embracing the same.

Improvements in extent greater than the above to entitle the claimant to purchase eighty acres, but in no case, as already stated, without the actual area cultivated shall exceed the same, is the claimant to be allowed to purchase more than eighty acres.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. S. DENNIS,  
*Surveyor-General.*

This "Staked Claim" question gave Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues a great deal of trouble, and, indeed, has not been finally settled up to the present time.

The utter uselessness of the Dawson Road as an immigration route, as well as the urgent necessity for direct railway connection with Manitoba, became so apparent that, early in 1878, the Government entered into negotiations with the directors of the St. Paul and Pacific Railway, to establish a continuous line between St. Paul, Minnesota, and Winnipeg. These negotiations included the immediate completion of the Pembina branch by the Government, and a ten years lease of it to the St. Paul and Pacific company. The proposed bargain was submitted to the House and passed the Commons, but the Senate sent it back with amendments which prevented its immediate consummation. In May, 1878, a contract was made with Kavanagh & Co., to complete the Pembina branch, and on Nov. 11th following the first construction train of the St. Paul and Pacific railway steamed into Emerson, amid the general rejoicings of the people of that town. The defeat of the Mackenzie Government in October, 1878, put a stop to the negotiations with the St. Paul and Pacific, and the subsequent arrangements made with that corporation are detailed in another chapter.

To sum up, the condition of the Canadian Pacific at this period was as follows: From Thunder Bay to Tetu Lake, 104 miles, track was laid and construction trains running; from Tetu Lake to within 10 miles of Savanne graded, ties laid, and partly ballasted; Pembina branch, track laid, and last spike driven on December 3rd, 1878, at Penza, a station just south of the Roseau River, where the track layers from the south met those working in that direction.

The absence of railway communication in the first decade of their existence, caused Manitoba and the North-West to lose thousands of desirable settlers, who were obliged to make the



journey through the States. Attracted by the rich appearance of the Red River valley, in Minnesota and Dakota, where railways were already in operation, or in course of rapid construction, they cast in their lot with the foreigner, and helped to build up the industries and wealth of the great Republic. The locking up of so much land in the railway reserves had also a disastrous effect on the early settlement, as many left the country when they found that no homesteads were to be had within reasonable distance of existing settlement, or future business centres, and established homes for themselves in the country south of the international boundary.



## CHAPTER XX.

### THE END OF THE AMNESTY QUESTION.

IN 1874, Archbishop Taché prepared a pamphlet upon the amnesty, and in it summed up his view of the whole question. His Grace held that the public honor of the Imperial, Federal, and Provincial authorities was pledged in favor of granting an amnesty, and gave the following reasons in support of his contention:—

“The Imperial Government was bound to grant amnesty for the reprehensible acts committed during the whole period of the Red River troubles, whatever may have been the nature of these acts, or by whomsoever committed, because:—

“1st. The most solemn promises were made by the legitimate representatives of the Imperial authorities. These promises were never revoked, and were accepted in the greatest good faith.

“2nd. Following these promises, the Imperial Government acted in a way to convince everybody that these same promises were being carried out. The British Cabinet asked for delegates, manifested great interest about them, granted them their demands, and did not permit the movement of the troops until after having received the assurance that the Red River insurgents were satisfied with the arrangements. The Imperial Government knew that the insurrectional movement was not directed against the authority of Her Majesty the Queen,

nor to withdraw from her allegiance. In consequence of this, the Imperial troops received but a mission of 'peace and civilization.' "

Archbishop Taché held that the Canadian authorities were as much committed to amnesty as the Imperial authorities, because :—

" 1st. It was Canada that 'occasioned the troubles,' and her responsibility was increased, not only by the acts of private individuals or inferior employés, but also by the conduct of superior officers of her Government, and even of her Parliament.

" 2nd. Solemn promises were given both *viva voce* and by writing—promises given by and in the name of Federal ministers, often repeated, and never denied, at least to those to whom they had been made.

" 3rd. The conduct of the Federal Government bound them to the amnesty, since, during the troubles and even after the death of Thomas Scott, they treated officially with the delegation asked for by themselves.

"Now, this delegation was incontestably sent and accredited by the Provisional Government. This mere fact constituted not only the obligation of granting amnesty, but even necessarily implied the acknowledgment of the amnesty (granted), which Canada had acknowledged by taking no action against the authors of the movement."

So far as the Provincial Government was concerned, the Archbishop held that :—"In conformity with the constitution and the conditions of Federal Union, the Provincial Government should necessarily respect the arrangements made, and reflect the policy to which the superior authorities had pledged themselves."

In June, 1873, the Dominion Government had referred the question of amnesty to the Imperial authorities for a decision in the matter, and in July, Earl Kimberley sent a despatch to Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General, in which appears the following clause: "Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the best course would be, that by such proclamation an amnesty should be granted for all offences committed during the disturbances at Red River in 1869-70, *except the murder of Scott*; but, as the Dominion Parliament are now responsible for the affairs of Manitoba, and any decision as to an amnesty must necessarily have an important influence on those affairs, Her Majesty's Government desire, before any instructions are given to your Lordship to this effect, to know whether your ministers have any objection to the issue of an amnesty limited in the manner proposed."

At the general elections of 1872, Riel, while contesting Provencher with Attorney-General Clarke, gave way, so as to allow Sir George E. Cartier to be elected for the constituency, but afterwards, in 1874, during the elections of that year, he was elected as the representative of the district in the Dominion House of Commons. When Parliament met, a petition against his return was presented on the 30th March, but being contrary to the Act of 1873, the Speaker could not allow it to be granted. On the same day, Riel presented himself at the clerk's office, took the oath, and signed the roll, but immediately disappeared, and never afterwards attempted to take his seat in the House. On the 15th April, 1874, Hon. Mr. Bowell moved the following resolution:—"That Louis Riel, the member for the electoral district of Provencher, having been charged with murder, and an indictment having been found against the said Riel, and warrants issued by

Courts of Manitoba for his apprehension, and that said Riel having fled from justice, and having refused to attend in his place in this House on Thursday, 9th April, be expelled from this House." This motion was seconded by Dr. Schultz.

Hon. Mr. Holton, seconded by Malcolm Cameron, moved an amendment in effect that, in view of the proceedings of the Smith Committee now investigating the disturbances in the North-West, and enquiring into the alleged amnesty, that proceedings be suspended till the report of Mr. Donald A. Smith's Committee is laid before the House.

Mr. Mosseau, seconded by Mr. Baby, moved in amendment to the amendment, that an address be presented, praying for the issuing of an amnesty to all those connected with the disturbances of 1869-70.

The motion for expulsion was carried by a vote of 123 yeas, 68 nays, and Riel was expelled from his seat in the Dominion House of Commons.

In the meantime, Mr. Donald A. Smith had moved for a committee of nine to enquire into the causes of the difficulties which existed in the North-West in 1869-70, and on his motion being carried, the following gentlemen were selected to form the committee:—Mr. D. A. Smith (chairman); Messrs. Cameron (Cardwell), Howell, Abbott, Blake, Moss, Geoffreon, Masson, Jones (Halifax).

A mass of evidence was taken before this committee, but it left the question whether an amnesty had been promised as much in doubt as ever, and this led afterwards to the appointment of a select committee to enquire into "the causes which retarded the granting of the amnesty announced in the Proclamation of the Governor-General of Canada."

The whole question was a most troublesome one to the Mac-



kenzie Administration, and there seemed to be little prospect of obtaining a settlement of it when, on the 10th December, 1874, Lord Dufferin transmitted to the Imperial authorities a most important document, which so ably reviews the whole subject of amnesty that we quote from it at length. Lord Dufferin thus deals with the question :—

First—Archbishop Taché claims an amnesty on the plea that he went to Red River as a plenipotentiary, empowered both by the Imperial and the Dominion Governments to secure the tranquillity of the country by the issue of such assurances of immunity to those engaged in the recent disturbances as he should deem fit. In support of this view he found himself, as he himself states, pages 33-34 of the Canadian Blue Book : First, as regards the Imperial Government, or Lord Lisgar's letter and proclamation ; and Secondly, as regards the local Government, on the paragraph I have already quoted in Sir John Macdonald's communication of the 16th of February, 1870. I confess I do not think that His Lordship's argument can be sustained. In the first place, the Archbishop's claim to such extensive powers is certainly invalid. The nature of his position is already defined in Mr. Howe's official despatch of the 16th February, 1870. The instructions already conveyed to Messrs. Thibault, de Salaberry, and Smith, are communicated to him as additional guides for his conduct, and he is farther invited to associate himself, and to act conjointly, with these persons. There are, therefore, no grounds for regarding the mission or powers of the Bishop as differing either in character or extent from those entrusted to the gentlemen who had preceded him ; and there is certainly no intimation in his instructions that he was authorized to promulgate a pardon in the Queen's name for a capital felony—still less can it be contended that he was empowered to expunge, on his own mere motion, a principal term from a Royal Proclamation. Mr. Smith and his colleagues had been already furnished with Lord Lisgar's Proclamation, but so far from considering that document as conveying a warrant of immunity to Riel, Mr. Smith expressly states that after the murder of Scott he refused to speak to him. On a reference, moreover, to the wording of the only sentence in Lord Lisgar's Proclamation which professes grace to the insurgents, it becomes self-evident that it has in contemplation those minor political offences of which news had reached the ears of the Government when the document was framed.

That this was its intention becomes even more apparent when we read the sentence in Sir John Macdonald's letter, to which the Bishop next appeals. In that communication Sir John Macdonald says :—“ Should

the question arise as to the consumption of any stores or goods belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company by the insurgents, you are authorized to inform the leaders that if the Company's Government is restored, not only will there be a general amnesty granted, but in case the Company should claim the payment for such stores, that the Canadian Government will stand between the insurgents "and all harm." It would seem impossible to expand the permission thus conveyed to the Bishop by Sir John to promise the rebels protection from the monetary demands of the Hudson's Bay Company, into an authority to condone such a savage murder as that of Scott's. But even were this point to be conceded, there would still remain an insurmountable difficulty in the way of proving Monseigneur Taché's case.

The terms of pardon, both in Lord Lisgar's Proclamation and Sir John's letter, were made conditional, in one, "on the immediate and peaceable obedience and dispersion of the insurgents," and in the other, "on the restoration of the Company's Government."

But none of these requirements were complied with. Scott was put to death some weeks after the arrival of Messrs. de Salaberry, Thibault and Smith, to whom the Proclamation had been already confided, and by whom its contents, at all events, must have been communicated to Riel before the accomplishment of that tragedy; and though immediately after the Bishop's advent, and at his instance, one-half of the English prisoners were released, the rest were kept in prison for more than a week longer; Riel and his associates still remained in arms, continued to prey upon the goods within their reach, and persisted in their illegal authority. It is true, many considerations may be adduced to mitigate the culpability of the latter portion of these proceedings; but be that as it may, they manifestly learned the effect of the conditional promises of forgiveness which the Bishop, even from his own point of view, was alone authorized to announce.

I understand His Lordship further to plead that the ultimate negotiations, which secured to the North-West the constitutional rights they enjoy under the Manitoba Act, directly flowed from the assurance of a complete amnesty which he promulgated. But, although it would be difficult to exaggerate either the purity of the motives by which this Prelate was actuated, in all that he did or said, or to over-estimate the self-sacrificing patriotism which induced him to tear himself from the attractions of Rome in order to encounter the hardships of a winter journey, for the sake of his fellow countrymen in Red River, or to deny that his exhortations and remonstrances had an immediate and beneficial effect in restraining Riel and his companions, and in superinducing a feeling of security in Winnipeg; it must still be remembered that the people of the North-West had chosen their delegates, and had consented to treat with

the Canadian Government some weeks before the Bishop had appeared upon the scene. In conclusion, it is to be noted that immediately Mr. Howe, the Secretary of State, received the information of the promise made by His Lordship to Riel and Lepine, he at once warned him that he had done so on his own responsibility, and without the authority of the Canadian Government. The Archbishop refers to a private letter of Sir George Cartier's as having neutralised the language of Mr. Howe's official communication; but to doctrine of this description I cannot subscribe. In the first place, I do not think the letter in question bears the interpretation put upon it by the Archbishop; and even if it did, it must be held that no private communication made by a single member of an administration, without the cognizance of his colleagues, can override an official despatch written in their name and on their behalf, by the head of the Department specially responsible for the conduct of the business in hand. Were such a view to prevail, every Government, and the Crown itself, would be at the mercy of any inconsiderate, rash, or treacherous member of a ministry.

The view taken by Sir John Macdonald, who was Premier at the time the Archbishop left for the North-West, of His Lordship's powers and the nature of his mission, is set forth in the honorable gentleman's evidence at page 100 of the Canadian Blue Book, and I need not say is entirely confirmatory of the conceptions I have derived from the written instructions the Archbishop received, and the correspondence which took place with him.

Under these circumstances I am of opinion that the Crown is not committed to the pardon of the murderers of Scott, upon the ground that the Archbishop was, in any sense, authorized to make a promise to that effect.

The next plea by those who demand a full and complete amnesty, is based upon the occurrences which took place during the visit of Judge Black, and Messrs. Richot and Scott, to Ottawa, in April, 1870, as delegates from the people of the North-West, and on the alleged purport of the conversations which took place between Archbishop Taché, and Sir George Cartier at Niagara. With respect to the transactions of this date, we have, unfortunately, no public correspondence, or other official intercommunications in which they have been recorded, and so far as regards the individual statement of the personages concerned, there is unhappily a direct conflict of assertion.

On the one hand, Abbé Richot and the Archbishop state positively that an amnesty to Riel was explicitly promised by Lord Lisgar, Sir Clinton Murdoch, Sir John Macdonald, and Sir George Cartier. On the other hand, this statement is denied in the most emphatic manner, by each and all of these gentlemen. The Abbé Richot's affidavit, in which a history of his interviews with the Governor-General and other members

of the Administration, is set forth with considerable particularity, will be found at page seventy-two of the Canadian Blue Book. The denial of the correctness of the Abbé Richot's assertions is conveyed, first, in a despatch to Lord Kimberley from Lord Lisgar, dated 25th April, 1872, and in a letter from the same nobleman to Sir George Cartier, dated the 21st February, 1873, page 104 of the Blue Book ; in a letter from Sir Clinton Murdoch to Mr. Herbert, dated 5th March, 1873, on page 104; and again in another letter, on the 6th of March of the same year ; in a letter from Sir George Cartier to Sir John Macdonald, dated 8th February, 1873 ; and in Sir John Macdonald's evidence, page 107. But a still more significant light is thrown upon what occurred, by a despatch from Sir Clinton Murdoch to Sir Fredric Rogers, dated 28th April, 1870, page 193 of the Blue Book. This communication was contemporary with the event recorded. The statement made was not a reply to any leading question, nor evoked by any special reference. It was simply a narrative drawn up for the information of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, as to the purport of Sir Clinton Murdoch's conversation with his interlocutor the Abbé Richot, immediately after the interview had occurred. In the fifth paragraph of that document, page 193 of the Blue Book, Sir Clinton Murdoch says :—" The 19th condition would secure an indemnity to Riel and his abettors, for the execution of Scott, and to all others for the plunder of the Hudson Bay Company's stores, and for all other damage committed during the disturbances—concessions which this Government could not venture, even if it had the power, to grant ; while the condition which, though not contained in the terms, was conveyed to Judge Black and the delegates, in writing, and whatever was agreed to here, must be subject to confirmation by the Provisional Government, and would have involved a recognition of the authority of Riel and his associates. Under these \* \* \* \* \* circumstances, there was no choice but to reject these terms."

Of course, it is a very invidious office to pronounce an opinion as to the respective accuracy of statements so conflicting, emanating from such eminent personages, and adduced, I have no doubt, by every individual concerned in the most perfect good faith ; but when it is remembered that Lord Lisgar had not even the power to make the promise which he is alleged to have given, and that he and Sir Clinton Murdoch, and Sir John Macdonald, are so perfectly in accord as to what passed, one can only conclude that the Abbé Richot, through the unfortunate circumstances of these conversations having been conducted in a language with which he was not familiar, must have derived a totally wrong impression of what had been said.

This view of the case is in a great measure confirmed by the evidence of Mr. Sulte, page 181 of the Blue Book, in which he states that one day



Father Richot said to him in reference to his recent interview with Lord Lisgar, "As I do not understand English very well, I am not satisfied with what His Excellency said to me at our interview." From this it may be gathered that the reverend gentleman has shown some precipitancy in consigning to an affidavit so elaborate a record of a conversation of which he admits himself he carried away an imperfect apprehension.

Cognate to this branch of the enquiry are the allegations advanced by Archbishop Taché as to his interview with Lord Lisgar at Niagara, 23rd July, 1870. The Archbishop does not appear to maintain that upon this occasion Lord Lisgar made him any specific promise, but he says that His Excellency, being unwilling to enter into any discussion upon Red River affairs, referred him to Sir George Cartier, and that Sir George Cartier then repeated these assurances, as on Lord Lisgar's behalf, to which the Archbishop attaches so much importance. As the facts connected with the incident are fully set forth in the Archbishop's statement on page 40 of the Blue Book, I need not further refer to them.

With regard, however, to Sir George Cartier's general attitude, language and correspondence, in reference to the whole of this subject, I am ready to admit that there appears to have been a certain amount of ambiguity and want of explicitness in his utterances, which undoubtedly encouraged the Bishop, Father Richot, and others, to entertain larger expectations in respect to the extent of the suggested amnesty than he was justified in exciting.

I do not for a moment imagine that Sir George Cartier intended to mislead these gentlemen, but he evidently leant to the opinion that the clemency of the Crown might be extended with advantage to Riel and his associates; and his naturally sanguine temperament led him to anticipate that as the public excitement calmed down, and years went by, he would have sufficient influence to obtain immunity for those in whose behalf the Archbishop and Abbé Richot were interesting themselves. As a consequence, the tenor of his language implied that if only matters were peaceably settled in Red River, and the population quietly submitted to the new order of things, a settlement would ultimately be arrived at satisfactory to all parties. But though this forecast of events was in his mind, and colored his thoughts and language, it does not appear in the evidence that he ever made any specific promise in respect to the murderers of Scott. On the contrary, he was always very careful to state that the power of granting a pardon to them did not reside with the Canadian Government, but with the Queen and her Imperial advisers. As Sir John Macdonald observes, he and the Abbé Richot and the Archbishop appear to have been moving "in different planes." Both make use of the word "amnesty," but Sir George always referred to an "amnesty" as applicable to the general body of insurgents, and to political offences, whereas



the Archbishop and the Abbé were solely preoccupied with the thought of securing an "amnesty" for Riel and his fellows. Be this, however, as it may, to my apprehension it cannot be for a moment contended that Sir George Cartier's casual conversations and private letters can bind the Imperial Government.

The third plea, on account of which a full and plenary amnesty is demanded, is that the authorities who ordered Scott's execution were a *de facto* Government, duly constituted by the will of the community, and that it was consequently a legitimate proceeding, and only reprehensible as an error of judgment. I think it but fair, in reference to those who hold this opinion, to call your Lordship's attention to the fact that the Convention which erected the so-called Provisional Government, and placed Riel at its head, was composed of a number of French and English delegates, fairly elected from the population at large; that persons of very great respectability were members of it, and took part in the proceedings; that Mr Donald Smith, the Canadian Commissioner, and the person who was instructed to take up the Government of the North-West on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the event of Governor Mactavish being precluded by ill-health from exercising his functions, appeared before it as an exponent of the views of the Canadian Government; and that the delegates it chose were subsequently recognized as duly authorized to treat with the Dominion Executive, on behalf of the North-West community. An attempt has been made to show that these delegates really held their appointment from Riel, and were to be considered as commissioned by his Government. This, however, was not so; they were selected, and the terms they were instructed to demand were settled, before the election of Riel to the so-called Presidency. On the other hand, it is to be noted that when the proposal to constitute a Provisional Government was mooted in the Convention, a certain portion of the English Deputies declined to take part in the proceedings, until they had ascertained whether or no Governor Mactavish, the legal ruler of the Territory, considered himself vested with authority. A deputation accordingly was appointed to wait upon him in his sick chamber, for this gentleman had unfortunately during many previous weeks been suffering from the mortal disease of which he soon after died. In reply to their enquiries, Governor Mactavish told them that he considered his jurisdiction had been abolished by the proclamation of Mr. McDougall, that he was a "dead man," and that they had, therefore, better construct a Government of their own to maintain the peace of the country. Returning to their colleagues, the deputation announced to the Convention what Governor Mactavish had said, and, as a result, Riel and his colleagues were nominated to their respective offices. But though these proceedings thus received a certain sanction at the hands of the representatives of the population

of the North-West, it does not appear to me to affect Riel's culpability with respect to Scott. In the first place, as has been very clearly laid down by the Chief Justice of Manitoba, in his charge to the jury on the Lepine trial, it is not possible for any lawful executive authority to spring into existence within Her Majesty's Dominions, unless it emanate from Herself. Without, however, laying too much stress upon the purely legal aspect of this part of the question, it is very evident that the killing of Scott was not an exercise of jurisdiction known to any form of law, but an inhuman slaughter of an innocent man, aggravated by circumstances of extraordinary brutality. In company with a certain number of Englishmen, Scott had started from a place called Portage la Prairie, with a view apparently of endeavoring to rescue a number of persons who up to this time Riel had been holding prisoners in Fort Garry, but at the entreaty of those who were anxious to prevent the outburst of Civil War, the party were induced to give up their project and to return home. Scott and his companions were captured as they were passing back to their own part of the country. The utmost alleged against Scott is that he used violent language in prison, and that he had alluded to an intention of capturing Riel, and retaining him as a hostage for the release of the prisoners already referred to ; but even these allegations were not proved, nor, had they been proved ten times over, could they have rendered him liable to serious punishment. Even the decencies of an ordinary drum-head court-martial were disregarded. The trial, if it can be so termed, was conducted in the absence of the accused, who was confronted with no witnesses, nor furnished with any indictment, nor allowed to plead for his life. The further details of the tragedy are so horrible, if the statements in the evidence can be relied on, that I will not shock your Lordship by repeating them ; suffice it to say, that all the special pleading in the world will not prove the killing of Scott to be anything else than a cruel, wicked, and unnecessary crime ; nor, had the origin of Riel's authority been even less questionable, would it have invested him with the right of taking away the life of a fellow-citizen in so reckless and arbitrary a manner. I have, therefore, no hesitation in concluding that any claim for the extension of an amnesty to Riel, founded on the assumption that the murder of Scott was a judicial execution, by a legitimately constituted authority, must be disallowed.

A fourth consideration occasionally urged, though not with any great persistence, by the apologists of Riel is, that when Sir Garnet Wolseley's forces had taken possession of the territory of Red River, a man by the name of Goulet, one of those who had been concerned in the murder of Scott, was pursued by certain persons, of whom two belonged to a Canadian regiment, until he was frightened into the river and drowned in his attempt to swim across it. How far the foregoing is an accurate

account of this transaction I know not. If a murderous assault of this description can be brought home in a court of justice to any individuals, they ought, of course, to be dealt with in due course of law, but it is idle to allege such a circumstance as exonerating the authors of another deed of blood.

There is sufficient plea, which has been sometimes urged, not, indeed, as of itself sufficient to command an amnesty, but as communicating a cumulative force to those already mentioned, namely, the transmission of money to Riel from the Government of the day on condition of his leaving the country,\* and his subsequent resignation of his seat for Provencher, in order to make room for Sir George Cartier ; but with transactions of this nature the Imperial Government cannot be expected to concern itself.

I therefore pass on to the fifth consideration which is adduced as a reason why the Imperial Government should concede an amnesty to the murderers of Scott ; and to the plea which I am about to exhibit I must ask your Lordship to give your earnest attention, as it appears to me to involve the consideration of a semi-legal question of very great moment, the ultimate decision of which will not only affect the case of Riel, but also that of the prisoner Lepine, now left for execution in Winnipeg gaol.

In the year 1871, a rumor prevailed in the Province of Manitoba, at that time incorporated in the Dominion, and under the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, the Honorable Mr. Archibald, that a considerable body of Fenians were gathered along its southern frontier, and were prepared to make a very formidable irruption over the border. In order to understand the gravity of the situation, it must be remembered that the leader of this movement was a man of the name of O'Donoghue, who had been associated with Riel in his insurrectionary movement. A very considerable probability consequently existed that O'Donoghue and his people might be acting in concert with the French leaders of the previous revolt. Mr. Archibald was alone, cut off by distance from the advice and countenance of the central authorities, and thrown entirely upon his own resources. He had no military forces worth speaking of with which to confront the invaders, and he was administering a Province inhabited by distinct nationalities, and distracted by difference of religious faith. Only a few months before a considerable proportion of its population had been arrayed in arms against the Queen's authority and their fellow subjects. Under these circumstances, it can be readily understood that a person in Mr. Archibald's situation would feel it his primary duty to sacrifice every other interest to the defence of the Pro-

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\*This alludes to a sum of money which Sir John Macdonald gave the Archbishop, and which was to be employed in trying to induce Riel to leave the country.

vince over which he presided, and to the safety of the population for whose welfare he was responsible. Acting upon these considerations, Governor Archibald determined to appeal to the loyalty of the French Métis and their leaders ; but these last were no other than Riel, Lepine, etc., etc., the very men for whose apprehension writs had been issued on a capital charge. Notwithstanding the anomaly of such a procedure, Mr. Archibald concluded to enter into relations with these persons. The account of what he did, and the reasons which guided his conduct, are set forth in a very perspicuous manner in a narrative which will be found on page 139 of the Blue Book.

From the statements therein contained, it will be observed that the Lieutenant-Governor reviewed the troops which had been collected under the command of Riel, Lepine and their companions ; that he accepted their services, and he promised them at least a temporary immunity from molestation on account of the crime of which they were accused ; that he shook hands with them ; that he received a letter signed by them, and that, through his secretary, he addressed to them an official reply, complimenting them on the loyalty they had shown, and the assistance they had rendered. He further states that he has convinced himself—though Sir John Macdonald appears to have had misgivings on this point—that this exhibition of fidelity was *bona fide*, and that it largely contributed to the preservation of Her Majesty's Dominions from insult and injury. In short, he is satisfied, to use his own language, that “If the Dominion has at this moment a Province to defend, and not one to conquer, they owe it to the policy of forbearance. If I had driven the French Half-Breeds into the hands of the enemy, O'Donoghue would have been joined by all the population between the Assiniboine and the frontier ; Fort Garry would have passed into the hands of an armed mob, and the English settlers to the north of the Assiniboine would have suffered horrors it makes me shudder to contemplate.”

Of course I am not prepared to say whether or no the Lieutenant-Governor's appreciation of the necessities of his situation, and if the consequences of a different line of action, are correct or not ; but if such be the deliberate opinion of an undoubtedly able, prudent, and conscientious man,—of a person whose successful administration of Manitoba has been awarded by promotion to a more important post, I do not think it is competent for us to go behind it, or act upon a different assumption.

The legal, or rather constitutional, question then arises, to what extent is the Crown of England committed by the acts and declarations of its Lieutenant ?—those acts and declarations having never been disallowed or repudiated by the central authority of the Dominion, or by the representative of the Home Government. Although my experience in such matters does not enable me to speak with any great authority, I con-



fess I should have difficulty in convincing myself that after the Governor of a Province has put arms into the hands of a subject, and has invited him to risk his life—for that, of course, is the implied contingency, in defence of Her Majesty's crown and dignity, and for the protection of her territory,—with a full knowledge at the time that the individual in question was amenable to the law for crimes previously committed,—the Executive is any longer in a position to pursue the person thus dealt with as a felon. The acceptance of the service might be held, I imagine, to bar the prosecution of the offender, for, undesirable as it may be that a great criminal should go unpunished, it would be still more pernicious that the Government of the country should show a want of fidelity to its engagements, or exhibit a narrow spirit in its interpretation of them. It is in this apprehension that I have ventured to call special attention to this last of the pleas for amnesty.

Perhaps my duty, as regards the matter in hand, will not be altogether completed unless I transmit to your Lordship some idea of the general view taken of this question by the population at large. With regard to the French section of Her Majesty's subjects, I may say that, although there are probably few of them who do not regard the death of Scott as a regrettable event, they are united to a man in the opinion that the part played by Riel in the North-West was that of a brave and spirited patriot; that it is principally to him and to those who acted with him, that Manitoba owes her present privileges of self-government, and her parity of rank and standing with her sister provinces. They are equally convinced that the Government of Canada and of Her Majesty are bound by the promises of the Archbishop, and that the Government of Riel, established at Red River, was authoritative and legitimate: nor, do I think, will they ever be persuaded that the language held by Sir George Cartier did not imply a direct and explicit assurance of immunity to the murderers of Scott, on their submission to the new order of things established under the auspices of the Manitoba Act, and by the advent of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald at Fort Garry.

On the other hand, a considerable portion of the people of Ontario resent the notion that a Catholic Archbishop should have usurped a plenary power of pardon in respect to men who had so cruelly put to death an innocent fellow-countryman of their own. They regard Riel as a disloyal rebel, as well as a murderer, and they would look upon the escape either of him or Lepine from punishment as an almost intolerable miscarriage of justice. At the same time, the larger proportion of them feel that various circumstances have occurred to complicate the situation, and to render the capital sentence impossible of execution; and, even amongst the more extreme section of those who are animated by sentiments of intense pity for Scott, there is to be observed, as far as I can judge from the



newspapers, a moderation and reasonableness which do them considerable credit.

It only remains for me to add that even should it be decided that the obligations imposed upon us by the procedure of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald are less compromising than I am inclined to consider them, and that the Crown is quite untrammelled in its action, I still think the various circumstances I have referred to in this despatch require the capital sentence of Lepine to be commuted, by the clemency of Her Majesty, into a much milder punishment. This commutation, when the proper time arrives, I propose to order on my own responsibility, and under the powers accorded to me by my instructions.

On the other hand, I feel very strongly that it would shock the public sense of justice were Riel to be visited with a lesser penalty than his associate. In the estimation of all those who consider the killing of Scott a crime, Riel is held to be the principal culprit : and, as a matter of fact, whatever promises were made by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald to Riel were also extended to Lepine. If, therefore, the latter is required to undergo a term of imprisonment, it appears to me that the executive will be precluded from exercising any clemency towards Riel until he shall have surrendered himself to justice, and, on conviction, have submitted to a similar penalty.

To this despatch, the Earl of Carnarvon replied on the 7th January, 1875, agreeing with Lord Dufferin, and leaving the matter of commuting the sentence of death passed on Lepine, entirely with His Excellency. In referring to this, Lord Carnarvon wrote as follows :—" You observe that you purpose to act in this matter on your own responsibility ; and I believe that by proceeding in that manner in the present instance, that is to say, by relieving your ministers, under the very peculiar circumstances in which they are placed, from the obligation under which they would lie if the question were an ordinary one of tendering advice to you respecting it, and, by deciding according to your own individual judgment, you will best meet the requirements of the case."

In regard to the promise of an amnesty given by Archbishop Taché, the Earl of Carnarvon remarks :—" It is impos-

sible to admit that he had any sufficient ground for believing that the Crown, or the Colonial Government acting for the Crown, did or could delegate to him, or to any other unofficial person, or, indeed, to any one, as to a plenipotentiary, an unlimited power of pardoning crimes of whatever atrocity, not even known to have been committed."

In dealing with the plea that the murder of Scott was done with the sanction and authority of a *de facto* Government, the Earl of Carnarvon appears to take a wrong view of the case. He says:—"There could be within the Queen's possessions in North America no power or pretence of establishing a *de facto* Government independent of or defying Her Majesty and her officers, which could aspire to any such immunity as that claimed: and any argument based on the view of such things being possible is, in my opinion, not even worthy of discussion."

Now, the Provisional Government, after it was completed by the adhesion of the English-speaking settlers, never at any time acted in defiance of Her Majesty or her officers. The murder of Scott, however, was not, in point of fact, attributable to the Provisional Government, but to the action of Riel and his immediate followers, on their own responsibility, and the remarks of the Earl of Carnarvon are, therefore, not to the point, and at variance with what actually occurred. The Provisional Government was recognized by the Canadian authorities, by the reception of its delegates, and treating with them. But the murder of Scott, not having had its sanction, only the persons responsible for the crime should have come within the scope of Lord Carnarvon's remarks. At the same time, if Scott had been duly tried and executed by order of the Provisional Government, it would, no doubt, have exceeded its

authority, but in that case the individuals entrusted with the carrying out of its orders would not have stood in the same position as did Riel, Lepine, and the others.

Lord Carnarvon further recommended that those actually concerned in the murder of Scott, even if not punished by death, should be deprived for ever of the power of participating in political affairs within the Dominion.

On the 15th January, 1875, Lord Dufferin, entirely on his own responsibility, commuted the capital offence of Lepine into imprisonment for two years, and the permanent forfeiture of his political rights, and this action on the part of the Governor-General led to another step in the amnesty question.

On the 12th February, 1875, Hon. Alex. Mackenzie moved a resolution in the House of Commons, which, after reciting several reasons for granting an amnesty to those concerned in the insurrection of 1869-'70, concluded as follows:—"That in the opinion of this House it would be proper, considering the said facts, that a full amnesty should be granted to all persons concerned in the North-West troubles, for all acts committed by them during the said troubles, saving only L. Riel, A. D. Lepine, and W. B. O'Donoghue.

"That in the opinion of this House it would be proper, considering all facts, that a like amnesty should be granted to L. Riel and A. D. Lepine, conditional on five years' banishment from Her Majesty's dominions.

"That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General, embodying this resolution, and praying that he will be pleased to take such steps as may be best calculated to carry it into effect."

The resolution carried, and on the 24th February, Riel was declared an outlaw, and this, it may be said, practically ended the amnesty question.



## CHAPTER XXI.

### DEFEAT OF THE MACKENZIE GOVERNMENT, AND RAILWAY POLICY OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

THE protection resolutions, introduced by the Opposition during the Session of 1878, were voted down by such substantial majorities that Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues anticipated an easy victory at the general elections in that year. The aggressiveness of the Opposition during the campaign, however, and the skilful arguments which they advanced in support of the National Policy, coupled with the fact that the country was suffering from a stagnation in trade, unparalleled in its history, and which (rightly or wrongly), was attributed by many to have arisen through Mr. Mackenzie's mismanagement of public affairs, so wrought upon the minds of the electors, that the elections, in October, 1878, proved a veritable political cataclysm, in which the Liberal party was overwhelmed, and Sir John Macdonald and his friends were triumphantly restored to power.

The new Government made a complete change in the fiscal policy of the Dominion, and materially altered the railway policy of the Mackenzie administration. They lost no time in formulating a comprehensive proposal for the construction of the great national highway, and on May 10th, 1879, Mr. Charles Tupper, Minister of Public Works, introduced the following series of resolutions, setting forth the new Pacific Railway policy :—

" 1. That engagements have been entered into with British Columbia as a condition of union with Canada, that the line of railway will connect the Atlantic with the Pacific ocean, and shall be constructed with all practicable speed.

" 2. That the Pacific Railway would form a great Imperial highway across the Continent of America entirely on British soil, and would provide a new and important route from England to Australia, India and the dependencies of Great Britain in the Pacific, also China and Japan.

" 3. That reports from the mother country set forth unprecedented enforced idleness of the working classes, and the possibility of a scheme to relieve them, formed on a large scale, it being found indispensable to alleviate the destitution.

" 4. That the construction of the Pacific Railway would afford immediate employment to a great number of workmen, and open vast tracts of fertile land for occupation, and therefore a ready outlet for over-populated districts of Great Britain and other European countries: and that it is obvious that it would be of general advantage to find an outlet for the redundant population of the mother country, within the Empire, and thus build up flourishing colonies on British soil, instead of directing the stream of immigration from England to foreign countries.

" 5. That in view of the importance of keeping good faith with British Columbia, and completing the consolidation of the Confederated Provinces of British North America, and for the purpose of sending relief to the working classes of Great Britain, and affording them permanent homes on British soil, and in view of the national character of the undertaking of the country, the Government of Canada is authorized and directed to use great efforts to secure the co-operation of the



Imperial Government in this great undertaking, and obtain further assistance by guarantee or otherwise, in the construction of this great national work: that it is further expedient to provide that 10,000,000 acres of land, and all the materials they contain, be appropriated for the purposes of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway.

“ 6. That the land be vested in commissioners to be specially appointed, and that the Imperial Government be represented on said commission. That all the ungranted lands within twenty miles of the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, belonging to the Dominion, be vested in such commission: and that when lands along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway are not of fair average quality for settlement, a corresponding quantity of lands, of fair average quality, shall be appropriated in other parts of the country, to extend in all to one hundred million acres.

“ 7. That the said commission be authorized to sell from time to time any portions of such lands, at a price to be fixed by the Governor-in-Council on their recommendation, not less than two dollars per acre, and that they be required to invest the proceeds in such sale of Canadian securities, to be held exclusively for the purpose of defraying the cost of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

“ 8. That the withdrawal for the sale and the settlement of these lands for twenty miles each side of the located line of the Pacific Railway, has in part had the effect of throwing the settlements south and west of Lake Manitoba: that in the existing state of things it is desirable to combine the promotion of colonization with railway construction on the Canadian Pacific Railway west of the Red River.

“ 9. That the Government be authorized and directed to

locate a portion of the railway system of the country from the Red River westward, running to the south of Lake Manitoba, with a branch to Winnipeg; and, if they deem it advisable, to enter into a contract for expending a sum not exceeding one million dollars in constructing the said railroad, without previously submitting the contracts to Parliament. That it is expedient to make further explorations in the Peace and Pine River districts, and other sections of country not yet examined, in order to ascertain the feasibility of a line through the largest extent of fertile territory, before beginning the work of construction to British Columbia.

“10. That in the opinion of the House, the selection of the Burrard Inlet terminus was premature, and that it is necessary to keep faith with British Columbia, and commence constructing the railway in that Province as early as practicable; that it must be authorized and directed to make such further explorations, and deem it necessary for the said purpose, as soon as they have finally selected and located the line, to enter into contracts for constructing portions of the same, not exceeding 175 miles, without further sanction of Parliament, so that the work of construction may, at the latest, be commenced during the present season, and thereafter vigorously prosecuted.”

The long-debated question of the location of the main line through the Province of Manitoba was set at rest, and the southerly route—that running south of Lake Manitoba—was finally adopted. The operation of the Pembina branch was also arranged for, and the work of grading and tracklaying was hurriedly completed during 1878: but, although connection was actually made from St. Boniface, with the St. Vincent extension of the St. Paul and Pacific Railway, at St. Vincent, Minn..

none of the facilities for operating the branch had been made by the Government. On the whole sixty-three miles of the Pembina branch there was not a single water tank, and, for want of a turntable at St. Boniface, an engine running over the road to that point was compelled to make the entire return journey tender foremost. An arrangement had been made by the late Government with the St. Paul and Pacific Railway Company, giving that corporation the exclusive privilege of running trains over the branch for ten years: but, in making the arrangement, the Government evidently overlooked the fact that the contractors had until the 1st of December, 1879, to complete construction. The latter stood out for their rights in the matter, and declined to relinquish any chance of profit that might accrue to them through the operation of the road while construction was still in progress, so the lease was never really effective. The contractors endeavored to operate the road. They hired a locomotive and some cars from the St. Paul and Pacific, and entered into a contract with the Government for carrying the mails, but the want of facilities rendered their efforts unsatisfactory to themselves and the public, and resulted in a complete breakdown of the running arrangements just at the most critical season—the early spring—when a great quantity of freight, and large numbers of passengers, were *en route* to Manitoba. In this emergency the new Government availed itself of a clause in the agreement made by Mr. Mackenzie with the St. Paul and Pacific Railway Company, and gave a contract to Upper & Co. to equip and operate the road from Emerson to Selkirk, until the main line from Thunder Bay should be opened for traffic. So soon as Upper & Co. had the road equipped, they were, as assigns of the Dominion Government, required to carry out the terms

of the agreement with the St. Paul and Pacific by interchanging traffic at the boundary. Upper & Co. made satisfactory arrangements with the American road, by which the latter were to run their trains through to St. Boniface until the former had the branch fully equipped. This arrangement gave great satisfaction to the inhabitants of the North-West, for it was felt that the incoming tide of immigration would have less chance of being turned back at the boundary, as in former years, to the detriment of the country.

The location of the main line south of the lake was looked upon as a victory for Manitoba, but Winnipeg, aspiring to the position of a railway centre, bitterly opposed the crossing of the Red River at Selkirk. The citizens held a number of meetings, and deputations and appeals to the Government were sent to Ottawa, but the authorities were inexorable, and would not consent to alter their plans, in regard to the crossing, which they had definitely fixed at Selkirk. Meanwhile, the Manitoba South-Western Colonization Railway Co. obtained a charter from the Dominion Parliament, which empowered them to construct a railway and traffic bridge across the Red River at Winnipeg, and the city entered into negotiation with the company to construct a bridge at the cost of \$200,000, to be raised by the sale of city debentures. The Government finally yielded to Winnipeg's request, so far as to agree to build a branch line from the city north-westward, to connect with the main line from Selkirk, and sent engineers to take soundings, and report on the practicability of building a bridge at Winnipeg, but intimated that the city would have to bear the expense of its construction.

Shortly after assuming office, Sir John A. Macdonald announced a new land policy, in connection with the construc-

tion of the main line of the Pacific Railway, which was rightly regarded as injurious to the interests of the North-West, as it withdrew a large area of land from homesteading and pre-emption, and caused many intending settlers to leave the country, and take advantage of the more liberal regulations in force in Minnesota and Dakota. The following were the terms of these obnoxious regulations :—

“ The route of the railway is assumed to run along the fourth base line from Red River westerly, to the intersection of the said base line by the line between ranges 21 and 22 west of the first principal meridian, and thence in a direct line to the confluence of the Shell River, the country lying on each side of the assumed line being respectively divided into belts, as follows :

“ 1. A belt of five miles on either side of the railway, and immediately adjoining the same, to be called belt A ;

“ 2. A belt of fifteen miles on either side of the railway, adjoining belt A, to be called belt B ;

“ 3. A belt of twenty miles on either side of the railway, adjoining belt B, to be called belt C ;

“ 4. A belt of twenty miles on either side of the railway, adjoining belt C, to be called belt D ; and

“ 5. A belt of five miles on either side of the railway, adjoining belt D, to be called belt E.

“ Homesteads and pre-emptions (of 160 acres each), may now be taken up in any even numbered sections of the entire area of the lands reserved for railway purposes.

“ The terms of payment for pre-emptions remain as before, viz., two-fifths of the purchase money down, together with interest on the latter, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, to be paid at the end of three years from the date of entry;



the remainder to be paid in six annual instalments from and after the said date, with interest at the rate above mentioned, on such balance of the purchase money as may from time to time remain unpaid, to be paid with each instalment.

“All the odd numbered sections in the railway lands are reserved for sale exclusively. The terms of payment are as follows, viz., one-tenth in cash at the time of purchase; the balance in nine equal annual instalments, with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum on the balance of purchase money from time to time remaining unpaid, to be paid with each instalment.”

Belt A was not open to settlement by homesteading or pre-emption, but land in it might be purchased at \$6 per acre. Belt B, homesteads free, on condition of three years' occupation, price of pre-emption \$2.50 per acre, price of lands sold \$5 per acre. Belt C, homesteads free, pre-emptions \$2.50, lands sold \$3.50. Belt D, homesteads free, pre-emptions \$2, lands sold \$2. Belt E, homesteads free, pre-emptions and lands sold \$1 per acre. Homesteads and pre-emptions, under these regulations, were restricted to 80 acres each.

The regulations were formulated August 1st, 1879, but were received with such disfavor that the Government saw the necessity of amending them, in the public interest, and on October 8th, of the same year, an Order-in-Council was issued which materially improved the law in the settlers' favor. Homesteads and pre-emptions were enlarged to 160 acres each. Belt A was opened to homesteading and pre-emption. Price of pre-emption \$2.50, and purchased lands \$5 per acre. Belt B, homesteads free, pre-emptions \$2.50, purchased land \$4. Belt C, homesteads free, pre-emptions \$2, purchases \$3, and belts D and E, homesteads free, pre-emptions

and purchases \$1 per acre. Liberal provisions were also made to protect old settlers, within the former railway reserve, in their holdings.

These regulations were severely criticized by the opponents of the Government, who declared that they had been made in the interest of the speculator, and to the detriment of the *bona fide* settler. The criticisms bore fruit in keeping many thousands of immigrants from coming to the country, for they were assured by the Opposition press that there was no chance for a man of limited means to secure land at all desirable for settlement. The regulations were not all that could be wished for: they were a slight improvement on those of Mr. Mackenzie, but neither were in any way satisfactory to the people or profitable to the country. Both Governments blundered most seriously in their administration of the North-West lands, and it took years of experience to enable the authorities to reach a proper understanding of the land question, and in the meantime the whole North-West suffered from the loss of thousands of desirable settlers every year, who were either deterred from coming into the country by the land laws, or, imagining that they could do better in the neighboring States, bent their way thither and attempted to make homes for themselves on the arid and storm-swept plains of Dakota.

After the prorogation of the Dominion House in 1879, Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper went to England to endeavor to raise capital for the purpose of building the railway. The result of their mission was not satisfactory, for, although it was announced in the *London Times* that "the Canadian Government had completed the financial arrangements for the construction of the Pacific Railway," and went on to describe the basis of the arrangements in detail, nothing was



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actually accomplished at that time, excepting the securing of the attention of capitalists to the great importance of Canada as a field for their investments. The undertaking seemed so gigantic that it was found impossible to induce capitalists to engage in it, and the Government were obliged to proceed with the construction as a government work. When Parliament assembled, in February, 1879, the progress of the Canadian Pacific was referred to in the Speech from the Throne, as follows:—"Every effort has been made to hasten the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Lake Superior to Red River, and no doubt is entertained that the railway will be opened for traffic between those important points within the time specified in the contracts. Under the authority given by Parliament last session, nearly one hundred miles, from Red River to the western boundary line of Manitoba, has been placed under contract, and tenders are about being asked for the construction of another hundred miles, from the boundary westward. The completion of these two sections will, at an early date, afford railway facilities through two hundred miles of the most fertile lands in the North-West. After an exploratory survey of the line from Fort Simpson to the Pine River Pass, and through the Peace River country, it has been decided to adopt the location of the line to Burrard Inlet, and contracts have been awarded for one hundred and twenty-seven miles of the railway between Emery's Bar, on the Fraser River, and Savona's Ferry. This work will be vigorously proceeded with so soon as the spring opens. Its construction will complete the most difficult portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and secure the connection, by steam, of the fertile district of Kamloops with the capital of British Columbia."



When the appropriations for Pacific Railway purposes came up in Committee of Supply, Hon. Edward Blake (who took the leadership of the Opposition, on Mr. Mackenzie's retirement from that position), in the course of one of the most eloquent speeches ever heard in the House, moved that the British Columbian end of the road should be abandoned, and, that, to keep the country from being burdened with an insupportable debt, only the section from Thunder Bay to Edmonton be proceeded with. Mr. Blake's amendment was defeated by 49 to 131. At this session, clause seven of the series of resolutions passed in the previous year was eliminated, and the following substituted:—"That 100,000,000 acres of land in Manitoba and the North-West Territories be appropriated for the purpose of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway; that such lands shall be, from time to time, selected and reserved, by order of the Governor-in-Council, as railway land, and shall be of fair average quality for settlement: that such lands shall be sold at prices to be fixed from time to time by the Governor in Council, but in no case shall they be less than \$1 per acre; that the proceeds of such sales, after deducting the cost of survey and management, shall be devoted exclusively to the purposes of defraying the cost of constructing the railway."

By this means it was hoped to defray the whole cost of the line, from Lake Nipissing to Burrard's Inlet, including the Pembina Branch, and surveys, a total of \$82,869,618, from the sale of lands. In moving the amendment to the resolution, Sir John A. Macdonald said, that the Government had determined that the Canadian Pacific Railway must be built, that taxation must not be increased, and that, to fulfil these conditions, it was absolutely necessary to use this large extent of

land; it was intended that the one hundred million acres would be exclusive of homestead lands, the Government basing their estimate on Prof. Macoun's statement that the North-West had two hundred and twenty million acres fit for settlement, exclusive of the tract known as the Montana Desert.

In July, 1880, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, Hon. J. C. Pope, and Lt. Col. Dennis, proceeded to England to solicit the aid of capitalists in the construction of the railway. During their absence, the newspapers teemed with contradictory reports of their doings, the Government organs boldly asserting that the mission was entirely successful, while those of the Opposition were as positive in denying the statement of their opponents, and indulged in all manner of ridicule of the scheme. Sir John Macdonald returned to Ottawa early in October, and in an interview at Montreal stated that he had succeeded in forming a powerful syndicate of capitalists from England, France, the United States, and Canada. That the syndicate would give security in money to build the railway within ten years. The contract would bind the syndicate to bring their lands into the market forthwith, and establish a systematic immigration from Great Britain and Europe. Representatives of Morton, Rose & Co., and of certain French banks, and Messrs. Stephen and Angus, met at Ottawa in consultation with the Ministers, and expectation was at fever heat throughout the North-West as to the result of their deliberations, which was kept profoundly secret. Thus matters stood until the assembling of Parliament, on December 10th, when the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's contract was submitted. The contract, as laid before the House, was signed by Sir Charles Tupper, representing Her Majesty the Queen; George Stephen, Duncan McIntyre, John S. Kennedy, R. B.

Angus, Morton, Rose & Co., Cohen, Reniach & Co., and James J. Hill. The debate which followed its reception brought forth all the power of both Government and Opposition, and, commencing on 13th December, 1880, was only concluded on January 28th, 1881. The great work undertaken by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and its successful achievement, will be fully treated in later chapters.

A summary of the length of railway completed and under construction at the close of 1879, is as follows:—

Fort William to Selkirk	- - -	409 miles.
West of Winnipeg	- - -	100 “
Pembina Branch (Selkirk to Emerson)	-	84 “
Canada Central	- - -	143 “
Yale-Kamloops section	- - -	127 “

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Up to the end of the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1879, there had been expended upon the work \$12,444,237.



## CHAPTER XXII.

### RAILWAY COMMUNICATION VIA UNITED STATES.

WE have shown in previous chapters how the ox-cart gave place to the steamboat, as the means of communication between Winnipeg and the outside world *via* the United States. On the 26th May, 1862, the *International* arrived at Fort Garry on her first trip, and until 1871 she continued on the route from Abercrombie and Georgetown to the Red River settlement, carrying goods for the Hudson's Bay Company. Previous to 1862, a small steamer called the *Anson Northup*, or *Pioneer*, plied upon the river, but she was found to be too small for the trade, and the company therefore built the *International* to take her place. In the winter of 1870-71, Mr. James J. Hill, of St. Paul, who had a large business connection in the Red River country, built a steamer which he called the *Selkirk*, and placed her on the route to Fort Garry. The Hudson's Bay Company then transferred the *International* to their agent in St. Paul, Mr. N. W. Kittson, who commenced running her as a regular passenger and freight boat in opposition to the *Selkirk*. The outcome of this competition between the two steamers was an amalgamation of the interests of Messrs. Kittson and Hill, which resulted in the formation of the Red River Transportation Company, under the management of Mr. Kittson.

The next phase in the steamboat business was the forma-

tion of an opposition line by the merchants of Winnipeg, who, in conjunction with several parties in Minneapolis, built two steamers, the *Manitoba* and *Minnesota*, to compete with the Kittson Company, the object being to lower rates. The Merchants' line, however, was not a success financially, and soon succumbed to its more powerful competitor, who finally purchased the steamers and added them to the fleet of the Red River Transportation Company. During all this time, Mr. N. W. Kittson and Mr. James J. Hill were associated in the carrying trade, although the former was the acknowledged head of the enterprise, and in 1878 the line of steamers numbered seven, consisting of the *Selkirk*, *International*, *Dakota*, *Alpha*, *Cheyenne*, *Manitoba* and *Minnesota*.

In the meantime, the mails were brought in by daily stage, which continued to run until the opening of the Pembina railway.

But events were shaping themselves in the United States to bring the iron horse into the Red River country, and supplant the steamboat and stage. As far back as 1857, the United States Congress passed an act making a grant of land to the Territory of Minnesota, to aid the construction of the Minnesota and Pacific Railway from St. Paul *via* St. Anthony (Minneapolis), to the head of navigation on the Red River. On May 22nd of the same year, the territorial legislature incorporated the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company, with a capital of \$5,000,000, to build a railway from "Stillwater *via* St. Paul and St. Anthony, to the town of Breckenridge on the Sioux Wood River, with a branch from St. Anthony *via* St. Cloud and Crow Wing, to St. Vincent, near the mouth of the Pembina River." Among the promoters and first directors of this company were Edmund Rice and Alex-



ander Ramsey, the latter afterwards Governor of Minnesota. The projected line was not commenced, and the company languished till 1861, when an act was passed to "facilitate the construction of the Minnesota and Pacific Railway." The passing of the act had no beneficial effect, however, and on March 10th, 1862, another act was passed changing the name of the company to the "St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company," making Dwight Woodbury, Henry T. Wells, R. R. Nelson, E. A. C. Hatch, James E. Thompson, Leander Gorton, Richard Chute and William Lee, directors, and requiring the company to complete the portion of the road between St. Paul and St. Anthony by January 1st of that year, and to St. Cloud by January 1st, 1865. The ten miles between St. Paul and St. Anthony were finished in accordance with the provisions of the act, and this was the first stitch in the network of railways which now covers the State of Minnesota. The company, however, made slow progress. In 1864, the rails were laid to Elk River; in 1867, to Lake Minnetonka; in 1870, to Benson, and in 1871 the road reached Breckenridge on the Red River, 217 miles from St. Paul. In the meantime the Northern Pacific Railway was chartered in 1864, and reached Moorehead from Duluth in 1871.

An intense rivalry existed between these roads, each striving to gain an advantage over the other in the matter of the land grant. On March 3rd, 1873, the land grant of the St. Paul and Pacific was to lapse on account of non-fulfilment of the provisions of its charter, but, by the efforts of Minnesota's representatives in Congress, the grant was extended for nine months, to Dec. 3rd, 1873. By May 1st, 1873, the Northern Pacific had built and was operating 500 miles of road, and had earned title to ten million acres of land. Gen. G. W. Cass,

President of the Company, writing to Messrs. Jay Cooke & Co., the financial agents of the enterprise, said :—"The completion of our road to the Missouri River, and our control of the trade of Manitoba and Montana, etc., \* \* \* \* all this should, in my estimation, justify us in elevating the standard of our credit. I think that when the limit of our present loan is reached, the company will find itself able to negotiate a six per cent. loan, for the prosecution and completion of the enterprise." The great efforts put forth by the rival roads at this time to push construction, were really a blind to deceive the public, or, at least, that portion of the public who were shareholders in the St. Paul and Pacific. The bondholders, however, aroused at last to the fact that they were being hoodwinked, demanded an investigation, which led to the discovery of some disagreeable facts. The St. Paul and Pacific had pledged certain lands as security for certain bonds, issued by the First Division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company. The last named corporation had undertaken, in consideration of the mortgage issued by the first, to construct the St. Vincent and Brainerd extensions, and, with the money resulting from the sale of their bonds, a distance of 104 miles had been completed, a large portion of the balance graded, and the rails purchased for the entire distance. The claim of the St. Paul and Pacific Company to those lands dated from the year 1857. In 1871, Congress passed an act to allow the St. Paul and Pacific Company to build its St. Vincent branch in another direction. This act was obtained at the request and through the interest of the Northern Pacific, it being in the interest of that company to promote such legislation, as it would otherwise have lost the greater portion of its land grant in Minnesota, it having adopted the location of its line through

the territory formerly decided upon as the route of the St. Vincent Branch. After the road was located and partially built in the new direction, the Northern Pacific tried to put a new construction on the act, pretending that it was a land grant for a new road, in order to obtain the priority for the entire distance. The history of this controversy threw rather a damaging light on the Northern Pacific, which was *de facto* identical with the St. Paul and Pacific, for, at that time, all the directors of the latter were also directors of the former, and the combination had owned all the stock of the St. Paul and Pacific since 1870. Another damaging fact was that one of the trustees, appointed by the St. Paul and Pacific Company, whose duty it was to guard the interests of its bondholders, was also a director of the Northern Pacific, and had taken upon himself the obligation to conduct the construction of the St. Vincent Branch in the interests of European capitalists, who were largely interested in that road. When these facts came out, the Amsterdam bondholders sent an agent to Washington, and succeeded in obtaining redress; but only for a time, as they eventually lost the bulk of their investments.

The affairs of the St. Paul and Pacific became rapidly more complicated, and, in August, 1873, a receiver was appointed for that portion of the road which included the St. Vincent Branch, the court ordering a deposit or security of \$5,000,000, within five days, to ensure the completion of the line to St. Vincent by the 2nd December following. There were then 56 miles of grading and  $241\frac{3}{4}$  miles of rails required for the completion of the road. The order had the effect of stopping the work of construction for the time being, neither the directors nor the Amsterdam bondholders being able to furnish the five millions within the time limited, and a forfeiture of the

land grant seemed inevitable. The Northern Pacific was in no better plight, for, on Sept. 18th, the great banking firm of Jay Cooke & Co. closed their doors, owing to the continual calls made upon them by the railway company.

These misfortunes, following so closely one upon the other, were extremely disheartening to the inhabitants of Manitoba, who had fondly hoped for railway connection by way of St. Vincent before the close of 1873, and their spirits were not enlivened two months later, when, to still further illustrate the adage that "misfortunes never come singly," Sir John Macdonald resigned, leaving the whole railway question in an inextricable muddle, to which there appeared to be no solution.

The St. Paul and Pacific had arrived at a hopeless stage of bankruptcy, twenty-seven million dollars worth of its bonds being outstanding, dishonored and comparatively worthless. These were of many different classes and values, and were mostly held in Amsterdam, where they might have been bought at a low figure.

The road had been constructed from St. Paul to St. Cloud, north-west to Breckenridge, and from Glyndon to Crookston at the time of the Jay Cooke failure, but owing to the financial crisis which then occurred throughout the United States and, although in a smaller degree, also in Canada, the latter portion of it never was operated. It was then that Mr. Donald A. Smith and Mr. N. W. Kittson, after carefully enquiring into the whole position of affairs relating to the St. Paul and Pacific Company, which, as we have shown, was then insolvent, and in the hands of a receiver, determined, if possible, to acquire the franchise. Their object at that time was to complete the system to the International boundary line, so as to give the North-West railway communication as early as possi-

ble by means of the Pembina branch of the Canadian Pacific, which it was understood the Dominion Government would complete as a connection to Winnipeg.

From the knowledge of the country and its resources possessed by Mr. D. A. Smith and Mr. Kittson, they realized the bright prospects and great future in store for the road if it was properly administered. They knew that when the company had failed, crushed by the weight of untoward circumstances, it was on the threshold of the fruition of its brightest hopes, and they resolved to grasp the opportunity afforded them to gain possession of it. Messrs. Smith and Kittson were then joined by Mr. James J. Hill, and efforts were made to obtain the necessary capital to carry out the scheme, but the financial depression was so great that it was not until 1877 that any friends could be induced to join them for that purpose. So little was then known in the Eastern States and Canada about the North-West that it was considered hopeless to expect that any such railroad as the St. Paul and Pacific could be successful. In 1877, Mr. Geo. Stephen, of Montreal, with whom Mr. Donald A. Smith had been associated in many ways, was induced to join in the enterprise, and in about a year from that time the transfer of the road to the four associates, Messrs. Donald A. Smith, Geo. Stephen, N. W. Kittson, and James J. Hill, was practically effected. Thus the first real step may be said to have been taken by which not only the opening up of the North-Western States by rail was accomplished, but also the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from ocean to ocean, secured. It is extremely doubtful whether the Great Northern system of railways would be in existence to-day, or the Canadian Pacific completed across the continent at the present time, if the combina-



tion of talent, wealth, and influence which we have described had not been brought together in 1877, through the efforts of Mr. Donald A. Smith.

Successful negotiations were concluded with the Dutch bond-holders, and in Feb., 1878, all the outstanding bonds were secured by the four associates. In the same year, while the road was still in the hands of a receiver, the new holders of the bonds obtained an order of the Court authorizing them to extend the line from Melrose to Alexandria, and from Glyndon to St. Vincent. The latter point was reached in November, and on 9th December, 1878, the first regular train over the St. Vincent branch arrived at St. Boniface.

On the 3rd December the last spike on the Pembina branch of the C. P. R., connecting Winnipeg and St. Vincent, had been driven, and the following congratulatory correspondence passed over the wires on that occasion :—

“ ST. PAUL, Dec. 2, 1878.

“ The Hon. the Mayor and the City Council of Winnipeg.

“ The Chamber of Commerce of this city instruct me to tender to you and the citizens of Winnipeg their respectful congratulations that the two cities are at length connected by iron bands and to express their fervent desire that intimate, social, and business relations will be the result.

“ Respectfully,

“ HENRY H. SIBLEY,

“ *President.*”

“ Henry H. Sibley, President of Chamber of Commerce, St. Paul, Minn.

“ Absence from town prevented sooner response to your congratulatory telegram. The Council and citizens of Winnipeg heartily reciprocate the friendly sentiments therein ex-

pressed, and hope to have the opportunity soon of exchanging personally good wishes and good offices with your people.

"Yours etc.,

"THOMAS SCOTT,

*"Mayor."*

In the summer previous, Mr. Mackenzie's Government had made a contract with Murphy and Upper for the completion of the Pembina branch of the Canadian Pacific from Selkirk to Emerson. The contract called for the completion of the work on December 1st, 1890. Arrangements were made with the St. Paul and Pacific Company through the receiver, Mr. Farley, by which that company were to be granted a lease of the Pembina branch for a term of years, during which they were to maintain and operate it. The proposed arrangement, however, could not be carried out by the Government, as the contractors had control of the road until the limit of their contract had expired, and they were desirous of operating it themselves in the interim, and derive any profits that might accrue in the transaction. When the first train ran over the road, it was discovered that the contractors were totally unprepared to maintain a regular service. They had rushed the construction so far as grading, ditching and track-laying were concerned, but there was not a water-tank, turntable, nor, indeed, anything necessary to the efficient operation of the road. The attempt to run trains under these circumstances was attended with vexatious delays and disappointments, and early in March, 1879, the traffic over the road was suspended for a short time, during which Messrs. Upper & Co. entered into an agreement with the Government and the St. Paul and Pacific Railway Company, which ensured the operation of the branch. The last-named company was to have running pow-

ers over the line, to the exclusion of any other railway company south of the International Boundary.

On 23rd May, 1879, the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company was organized under the following directorate: Mr. George Stephen, President; James J. Hill, General Manager; Edward Sawyer, Secretary and Treasurer; and Messrs. Donald A. Smith, Norman W. Kittson, J. S. Barnes, R. B. Galusha and H. R. B. Bigelow, Directors—Messrs. Barnes, Galusha and Bigelow having each been allotted a few shares to qualify them as Directors—and the mortgages which secured the bonds of the St. Paul and Pacific were foreclosed and bought by the new company. At the time of this purchase (although when the road was first made over to the associates it consisted of only 360 miles), the entire system comprised a line from St. Paul running north-westerly to St. Cloud, and thence, west and northward, to St. Vincent; and another line, commencing at Minneapolis and running nearly due west, to Benson, thence, northerly, to Barnesville. It is a curious fact in connection with the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, that, at its inception it was alluded to by the *London Times* as “an obscure Canadian railway,” although not one inch of its track was laid on Canadian soil.

When Mr. Donald A. Smith and Messrs. Stephen, Hill, and Kittson, entered into negotiations for the purchase of the bonds, in 1878, and until after the re-organization of the road as the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company, in 1879, no other person had any interest whatever, direct or indirect, in the enterprise. These four men, two of them Canadians by birth, and two by adoption, by their splendid audacity and courage in raising the project from the ditch in which it had been abandoned by its former promoters, fur-

nished a lesson in finance to the United States and the world that generations of Canadians may point to with pride. The history of their achievement reads like a modern fairy tale; it is certainly worthy of being classed as a romance of rail-roading.

Their undertaking entailed the purchase of a good deal over \$20,000,000 of bonds, owned at that time by Messrs. Chouet, Weetjen, and Kirkhoven of Amsterdam, and others, for which payment was to be made within six months from the date of final judgment in the foreclosure proceedings, and of a considerable amount of the share capital of the St. Paul and Pacific Railway Company. The bonds were bought at prices ranging from eleven to seventy-five cents per dollar on their par value. The purchase covered all the property held under mortgage, including the immense land grant. The purchasers agreed to complete the road under the management of the newly organized company. In the meantime, the bonds were deposited with trustees for the benefit of all concerned, and the purchasers paid into the hands of the same trustees a sum of money on account, which was to be forfeited if they failed in their engagements. It was further agreed that the sellers might elect to accept, in lieu of cash, first mortgage bonds and preferential shares of the newly organized company. The foreclosure having been accomplished, the new company issued bonds to the amount of \$8,000,000, and floated them successfully in the New York market. Holders of original St. Paul and Pacific bonds accepted shares and securities in the new company in preference to cash, so great was their confidence in the new management. Thus, four Canadians obtained possession of one of the most important railways on this continent, at an expenditure of a comparatively small

amount of cash, by sheer strength of character and superior financial ability. They conquered where the financiers of the United States had failed, and—still further to evidence their skill in finance—negotiated their bonds in the very market which had declined to deal in them in the past. After years of weary waiting and of hopes deferred, Manitoba obtained a railway outlet to the south and east, via the United States, through the energy and sagacity of Messrs. Smith, Stephen, Kittson, and Hill.

The first annual meeting of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad Company was held at St. Paul in May, 1880, when the following Board of Directors was elected:—George Stephen, Montreal; Donald A. Smith, Montreal; R. B. Angus, St. Paul (formerly manager of the Bank of Montreal); O. H. Northcott, London, England; Norman W. Kittson, St. Paul; James J. Hill, St. Paul; R. B. Galusha, St. Paul. The officers elected were:—George Stephen, President; R. B. Angus, Vice-President; Edward Sawyer, Secretary-Treasurer; James J. Hill, General Manager. The report of operations for the ten months preceding was as follows:—

Total earnings from all sources,	-	-	\$2,365,287	36
Operating expenses,-	-	-	1,078,973	49
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Net earnings, -	-	-	\$1,286,313	87

The Pembina Branch was operated by Upper & Co., during the continuance of their contract, and afterwards the Government undertook its management. Neither arrangement was satisfactory, and, on this account, it was not until the formation of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in 1881, that Manitoba secured a really efficient railway service by way of the United States. The history of the inception and organization of the



Canadian Pacific Railway Company, by the same men who so successfully floated the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, forms the subject of a separate chapter.

But for the connection of Mr. Geo. A. Stephen and Mr. Donald A. Smith with the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, there is not the least doubt that they would never have been in a position to take up the Canadian Pacific, and it will be admitted by all sides that in no other way would Canada have had a railway through to the Pacific for many years to come. A glance through these pages will show this clearly. Mr. George Stephen (now Lord Mount Stephen) was the first President of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, and also of the Canadian Pacific. Mr. Donald A. Smith (now Sir Donald A. Smith), owing to his connection with the Hudson's Bay Company, and his being in public life as a member of the Dominion Parliament, declined always to accept any other position than that of a director in either of these Railway Companies. His occupancy at present of the position of Vice President in the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Company, is little less than nominal, the road being now practically absorbed by the Great Northern Railway Company.

In concluding this subject, it may not be amiss to give a few particulars concerning the wonderful progress made by the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company, from the time of its incorporation in 1879 down to the present day. At the organization of the Company, the capital was placed at \$20,000,000, and the line then built, some 360 miles, which was put into working condition. Extensions were made from time to time, until, from a broken down road in 1877, it is now one of the best built and most profitable rail-

ways in the United States, with two lines, one on the east and one on the west side of the Red River, to the Canadian boundary, and a line, with many branches, extending from St. Paul on the one-hand, and from Superior City and Duluth on the other, across the continent to the Pacific Coast, having in all a mileage of upwards of 4,500 miles. On September 18th, 1889, the Great Northern Railway Company was chartered, and this corporation leased the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway for 999 years, from Feb. 1st, 1890, guaranteeing dividends of 6 per cent. gold, per annum on \$20,000,000 stock of the lessor, and the payment of both principal and interest of all its obligations. The dividends of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company have never been less than 6 per cent. per annum, and those of the Great Northern not less than 5 per cent. The President of the Company now, and for a number of years past, is Mr. James J. Hill, one of the four original associates, and Sir Donald A. Smith is Vice-President of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway and a director of the Great Northern.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

### THE NORQUAY ADMINISTRATION.

IN October, 1878, the Hon. R. A. Davis resigned as Premier of Manitoba, and on the 16th of the same month Hon. John Norquay was called upon to form a cabinet, and chose the following to assist him in the government of his native Province: Hon. Joseph Royal, Minister of Public Works; Hon. David M. Walker, Attorney-General; Hon. Corydon P. Brown, Provincial Secretary; Hon. Pierre Delorme, President of the Council and Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Norquay assuming the portfolio of Provincial Treasurer.

The country was entering upon a most important period in her history, and the new Premier realized the gravity of the trust reposed in him. His policy, enunciated in his election address to the electors of St. Andrews South, may be briefly summarized as follows: The lack of railway facilities being severely felt by the farmers, who had no means of conveying their surplus products to market, the Government would encourage local effort in the direction of railway construction, by granting power to municipalities to bonus such enterprises, and by every other means within their power. The extension of the boundaries, and the re-adjustment of the Provincial subsidy, so as to place the Province on an equitable financial footing with the other Provinces. To meet the increased demand for aid in support of schools, caused by the rapid

growth in population, the Government, it was announced, had secured an advance of \$10,000 a year for three years, to be charged against the first sales of school lands, instead of making it necessary to charge the advance against capital account. The initiation of a system of drainage was also promised.

With this programme, meagre perhaps at first sight, but covering the more essential needs of the people, the new Government went to the country, and were sustained by a large majority, the general elections (December 18, 1878), resulting in the returning of sixteen Government members: six Opposition, and two Independents. The following table gives the result of the elections:—

Electoral Division No. 1, Westbourne—Hon. C. P. Brown.

No. 2, Burnside—Kenneth McKenzie.

No. 3, Portage la Prairie—James Cowan, M.D.

No. 4, High Bluff—J. A. K. Drummond.

No. 5, Baie St. Paul—Andrew Bourke.

No. 6, Pembina—John A. Stevenson.

No. 7, St. Francis Xavier West—Hon. J. Royal.

No. 8, St. Francis Xavier East—Louis Schmidt.

No. 9, Headingley—John Taylor.

No. 10, St. Charles—Alexander Murray.

No. 11, St. James—Hon. D. M. Walker.

No. 12, Winnipeg—Thomas Scott.

No. 13, Kildonan—Alex. M. Sutherland.

No. 14, St. Pauls—Samuel Clark Biggs.

No. 15, St. Andrews South—Hon. John Norquay.

No. 16, St. Andrews North—John Gunn.

No. 17, St. Clements—John Wright Sifton.

No. 18, Rockwood—Thomas Lusted.

No. 19, Springfield—A. W. Ross.

No. 20, St. Boniface—A. A. C. Larivière.

No. 21, St. Vital—Maxime Goulet.

No. 22, St. Norbert—Hon. Pierre Delorme.

No. 23, Ste. Agathe—Joseph Taillefer.

No. 24, Ste. Anne—Charles Nolin.

The first session of the third Parliament of Manitoba assembled on February 1st, 1879, and on the first division the House stood fourteen for the Government and nine Opposition. On February 7th, the House was adjourned till April 8th, to enable the Government to confer with the authorities at Ottawa, on various matters on which legislation might be contemplated by the Dominion, notably the promotion of local railway enterprises, a subject on which it was important that the Federal and Local Parliaments should be in accord. The extension of the boundaries, and better financial arrangements, were also to be arranged for. A deputation, consisting of Hon. Messrs. Norquay and Royal, went to Ottawa shortly after the adjournment. They had several conferences with the Executive, but the result was not available on the 8th of April, as had been anticipated, and on that day the Provincial Legislature was further adjourned till May 27th, to enable the Ottawa authorities to forward the official documents and correspondence bearing on the various subjects which had been submitted to them. On the re-assembling of the Legislature, the Government presented the results of their negotiations at Ottawa before the members, and as these are fully set forth in a minute of Council approved on April 18th, 1879, we subjoin it:—

“The Committee have had under consideration a report submitted to the Sub-Committee of Council appointed to confer with Messrs. Norquay and Royal, members of the Executive



Council of the Province of Manitoba, who have been deputed by the Executive Council of that Province to 'proceed to Ottawa and urge upon the Government of the Dominion, a consideration of certain matters affecting the progress and welfare of that Province.'"

The questions submitted by Messrs. Norquay and Royal for the consideration of the Government, were the following:—

1. The construction by the Dominion Government of the public buildings at Winnipeg.
2. The railway policy to be pursued by that Province with reference to projected local lines.
3. The mode to be adopted with respect to the sale of school lands.
4. The provision required to be made for the drainage of marsh lands.
5. The return of the Dominion Government of seed grain and provisions lent to certain inhabitants of the Province in 1875.
6. The expediency of reducing the charge for the keep of lunatics in the penitentiary of Manitoba.
7. The expediency of an advance to the Province on capital account, to provide for certain expenditure, especially the drainage, and expenses connected with the administration of justice.

The Committee having given full consideration to the representations made by the Sub-Committee on the above subjects, and to the report of the Sub-Committee thereon, respectfully recommend:—

1st. That with reference to the erection of public buildings at Winnipeg, the Government of Manitoba be informed that an item will be inserted in the estimates of the next session of

Parliament, for the erection of plain but sufficient buildings for the Legislative Assembly and for a Government House, but that the Dominion Government will not undertake the furnishing of either.

2nd. That as respects the railway policy to be pursued in that Province, it has been decided that the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway shall pass south of Lake Manitoba, in accordance with the suggestions of Messrs. Norquay and Royal. The Government will oppose the granting of a charter, for the present, at least, for any railway in Manitoba other than the one recommended by them, from Winnipeg, south-westerly, to Rock Lake. The Government think it very desirable that all railway legislation should originate here, and that no charter for a line exclusively within the Province of Manitoba should be granted by its Legislature, without the Dominion Government first assent thereto.

3rd. That as regards the disposing of the school lands, the Government is pleased to learn that Messrs. Norquay and Royal are satisfied with the policy intended to be pursued in withdrawing the sale of lands until they shall have attained approximately their maximum value, either by reason of improvements effected in their neighborhood, or by their proximity to the line of the Pacific Railway: and that the proceeds of sales should be held by the Dominion Government, and the interest only paid over to the Province of Manitoba.

4th. That with respect to the question of drainage, the Government of Manitoba be informed that the Government of Canada is not prepared to commit itself to any distinct line of action on this subject. That considering the abundance of land to be found in Manitoba, the question, it is thought, may safely be deferred for some years. That they also look to a

good deal of drainage being done in the construction of the Pacific Railway.

5th. That as regards the advances made in 1875 of seed grain and provisions, the Government of Manitoba be informed that in cases where settlers return such advances on or before the first day of March, 1880, there will be allowed for wheat, oats, and barley, at the rate of \$1.20 per bushel, in payment of grain and provisions so advanced. That pork lent at the same time will be charged to settlers at \$25 per barrel, and flour at \$4 per bag of 100 pounds.

6th. That the Dominion Government will pay for lunatics coming from without the Province of Manitoba, and will charge fifty cents per day, per lunatic, for those coming from within Manitoba, who are now or may be in charge of the warden of the penitentiary, and will next Session ask Parliament for a sum of money to erect a Dominion Lunatic Asylum and Hospital, in or near the town of Winnipeg.

7th. That with respect to the advance asked on capital account, the Committee append the report of the Minister of Finance, to whom the above subject was referred, and they recommend, in accordance therewith, that the subsidy now paid to the Province of Manitoba of \$90,000 be, for the reasons mentioned by the Minister in that report, increased up to the end of the year 1881 to the sum of \$105,653.04, made up as therein stated, but they are unable, for the reasons given therein, to recommend any advance being made on capital account to that Province.

The following is the report of the Hon. Mr. Tilley, Minister of Finance, alluded to in the foregoing minute of Council:—

“The undersigned has the honor to report that he has had submitted to him an application from the Hon. John Norquay,

Provincial Treasurer, and the Hon. Joseph Royal, Minister of Public Works, of the Province of Manitoba, asking on behalf of the Province that re-arrangements should be made of the amounts paid on account of the annual subsidy. The undersigned has the honor to report that on the admission of the Province to the union, a sum of \$30,000 was allowed on account of the cost of Government.

“That an allowance was made at the rate of eighty cents per head on an assumed population of 17,000, amounting to \$13,000. That the interest on the balance of the debt amounts to \$19,653.04, and that by re-arrangement made by Order-in-Council of the 26th October, 1875, confirmed subsequently by 39 Vic. Cap. 3, an additional allowance was made until the end of the year 1881, of \$26,746.96, bringing up the total subsidy payable yearly to the sum of \$90,000. Messrs. Norquay and Royal, in the memorial presented, represent that the Province has no Crown lands, and that the increase of population has been altogether in excess of their calculations.

“That as this population is composed largely of new settlers, they are unable at present to realize any income to carry on the expenses of Government, and that by the estimate submitted it is shown that at the present date the population is 53,540. That at the present moment a large emigration is taking place into the Province, and that it is presumed that before the close of the season the population will have reached 70,000.

“Under the circumstances, the undersigned recommends that the annual allowance of \$90,000 be increased until the end of the year 1881, to \$105,650.04, being made up as follows:—\$30,000 cost of government; \$56,000, being at the rate of eight cents per head on assumed population of 70,000, and

\$19,753.04, being interest on balance of capital at 5 per cent. With respect to the request that advances be made from the capital account of the Province for drainage purposes, the undersigned regrets that he cannot recommend that the application be entertained.

“(Signed) S. L. TILLEY.”

These “better terms” were received by the Legislature and created very little feeling in that body, as, at the time of their reception it was in the throes of a ministerial crisis that served to distract attention from everything less exciting. At any other time the arbitrary position assumed by the Dominion in the matter of Provincial railway charters (as intimated in clause 2 of the foregoing memorandum), might well have alarmed the members, and stimulated them to guard the future interests of the Province by a timely protest against this threatened invasion of its autonomy. But unhappily not a single voice was raised in disapproval of the establishment of a precedent which was destined to cause serious trouble in the future, and which was eventually the cause of the political downfall of Hon. John Norquay, who now accepted it with such unquestioning confidence.

The session of 1879 was an eventful and important one, not only remarkable for the valuable legislation which it framed, but for the radical changes which it brought about in the composition of the Legislative Assembly. Heretofore the House had been composed of two parties, English and French, with the latter slightly in the majority. The House, in 1879, contained only six French members in a total of twenty-four. Before the meeting of the House there were vague rumors of dissensions in the Cabinet, and it was hinted that the Hon. Joseph Royal was engaged in intrigue with members of the



Opposition, with a view of embarrassing Mr. Norquay, and bringing about a crisis in which the French would be enabled to secure a new lease of the power which they perceived was fast slipping from their grasp. These rumors were so correct, in fact, that Mr. Norquay took the first possible occasion to test the feeling of the members towards himself and colleagues by holding a caucus of the English-speaking representatives of both sides of the House, and drawing up a line of action to which they committed themselves in the following terms:

*“Memorandum of agreement entered into and subscribed by the undersigned Members of Parliament.*

“It is expressly agreed and understood that the subscribing members hereby pledge themselves to do their utmost:

“To secure the passage of a measure to dispense with the printing of the public documents of the Province in the French language.

“And also pledge themselves to the passage of a measure that will have due regard to population and territory in the redistribution of seats.

“Larger expenditure on roads.

“Promotion of increased boundaries of the Province.

“Careful application of school moneys in proportionate apportionments of sums voted for education.

“Economical expenditure of public moneys in all branches of service.

“Establishment of Assize Courts in the west, Portage la Prairie, and other counties, when deemed necessary.

“It is further understood that the Hon. D. M. Walker and the Hon. C. P. Brown will place the departments at the disposal of the party, when by them disposed in a manner best calculated to further the interests aforesaid.

"It is further understood that all the departments of the Government be left open at the end of the session, except those held by the Premier and Mr. Delorme.

"Signed, J. Norquay, D. M. Walker, C. P. Brown, John Taylor, John Gunn, A. M. Sutherland, James Cowan, Kenneth McKenzie, Thos. Lusted, A. W. Ross, S. C. Biggs, Thos. Scott, John W. Sifton, J. A. K. Drummond."

Mr. Royal, with wonderful intuition of the current of events, held a caucus of his party at the same time, at which the following memorandum of agreement was subscribed by the French members:—

"That the Hon. Mr. Royal be instructed to interview Mr. Norquay, and to inform him that the representatives of the French divisions are of opinion that it is urgent that the Government should be supported by a larger number of representatives from the English division of the Province. Otherwise, they may be compelled to ask their resignation of their representative in the Cabinet, and cease to give the Government that support they have given so far—without, nevertheless, disapproving of the policy of the Government, but merely in justice to their confrères representing the English division in the House, and therefore in conformity with the understanding that has taken place between the two sections of the House at the nomination of the Government."

Such was the condition of affairs when Mr. Norquay met the House on his and Mr. Royal's return from Ottawa. The French, led by Mr. Royal, had played their trump card; they had hoped to defeat Mr. Norquay by securing a small handful of disaffected English members, but he, with a *finesse* equal to the occasion, had blocked the game, and completely turned the tables on the plotters.

We cannot do better, in recording the events which followed, than give the official correspondence laid before the House on the occasion of Mr. Royal's resignation from the Ministry. (It may be explained that the accusations referred to in the correspondence related to certain charges made against him in the press, in connection with his dealings with the Indian Department.)

The following papers were laid before the House :

*Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Council, held at the Government Buildings, Winnipeg, on Wednesday, the 28th day of May, A.D. 1879.*

PRESENT, HON. MR. NORQUAY, HON. MR. WALKER, HON. MR. BROWN.

Mr. Norquay communicated to Council the result of a conversation that he had had with the Minister of Public Works, in which he (Mr. Royal) had been charged with a message to him from the members of Parliament representing French constituencies, that they could no longer continue their support to the Government, because the Government, as it was at present constituted, did not command a support of a majority of the members representing English constituencies, and that they insisted on a change being effected, and suggested the taking in of Capt. Scott, the member for Winnipeg.

Messrs. Walker and Brown immediately offered to place their resignations in Mr. Norquay's hands, assuring him that he would have their hearty support and co-operation in carrying out any measures calculated to further the public interest, leaving him entirely untrammelled, while assuring him that it was their belief that no combination of men on the English side of the House could command the support of the majority of the members while Mr. Royal remained in the Cabinet, as he (Mr. Royal), contrary to the expectations entertained by them, had apparently not taken any effective steps to remove the stigma of certain allegations and charges of a damaging nature which were preferred against him in the public press during the last general election, and which made their position under the circumstances very embarrassing.

J. NORQUAY.

*Hon. Mr. Norquay to Hon. Mr. Royal.*

WINNIPEG, May 27th, 1879.

SIR—Referring to the conversation we had yesterday, in which you stated that you were deputed by the members of the House representing

French constituencies, to inform me that they could no longer continue their support to the Government, on the ground that the Government had not the support of a majority of the English members of the House, I have the honor to request that you will place the department over which you preside at the disposal of the Government, believing, as I do, that the lack of support to the Government from the English-speaking side is owing to your presence in the Cabinet.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

HON. JOSEPH ROYAL,

*M. P. W.*

J. NORQUAY,

*Premier.*

*Hon. Mr. Royal to Hon. Mr. Norquay.*

WINNIPEG, May 29th, 1879.

SIR—I was deputed yesterday by the representatives of the French-speaking electoral divisions of the Province to see you on a subject which has already more than once occupied the serious attention of the Government,—that is to say, their earnest desire to see your Cabinet supported by a larger number representing the English-speaking divisions.

There was no menace in this determination, since, as you are well aware, it was the only basis adopted by both the English and French party in October last, when you were selected by our friends as the leader to succeed Hon. Mr. Davis in the Cabinet.

My party, then and there, stated most distinctly to you and to all your friends, that they were quite willing to accept whatever leader your party would choose, provided, however, that the said leader would prove himself capable of getting a fair support at the next general elections.

The elections took place in December, and you know the result.

Possessing the entire confidence of the French party, who had selected the Hon. Mr. Delorme and myself to represent them in the Cabinet, I did not forget the principle upon which your ministry had been formed; and, although none of the so-called French party believe in a strict and ever-existing double majority, yet, under circumstances of the Province, we are all of the firm belief that justice and fairness to all demand that a Government, to be strong and efficient, must command, if not the absolute support of the two sections, at least that support which is not, as in the present case, almost exclusively composed of one section of the representatives of the people.

You have repeatedly, yourself, admitted the correctness of such a principle; and when, in January, February and April, I again pressed the matter to your consideration, I, on the last occasion, represented that Captain Scott being a strong and out-and-out Conservative, and most ac-

ceptable to my friends, would, if induced to join your Cabinet, give that support (or rather complete it) all your friends were so desirous to see you have. You then seemed to acquiesce in these views, and, as a preliminary, you informally charged one member of your Cabinet to interview Captain Scott. It is a matter of deep regret that no further action was taken, as it would most likely have resulted in avoiding the present crisis.

I informed you last night that the party would again meet this morning at ten o'clock, to hear what you would have to communicate to them; and, when I left you, I was glad to have been led to believe that by that time all difficulties would be cleared up as you told me that you were quite ready to make whatever arrangements with members of the House that would enable you to attain the desired object.

I regretted to inform the party that up to the hour of meeting nothing of their just, reasonable and friendly demand had reached me, except a short note from you, which was read to them, and requesting my resignation as my presence in your Cabinet prevented you from being supported.

It was then unanimously resolved—Messrs. Delorme, Goulet, Schmidt, Murray, Bourke, Taillefer, and La Riviere being present—that, whereas Mr. Delorme and myself had been selected to represent the party in your Cabinet, and, whereas you had, after several months of friendly representations utterly failed to carry out the principle and basis upon which the administration had been formed—Hon. Mr. Delorme and myself should sever their connection with your Cabinet; and we now have the honor to resign our respective positions in the Executive of this Province, and request that the same be placed, at your earliest opportunity, before the Lieut.-Governor-in-Council.

I remain, Sir,

Your very ob't servant,

JOSEPH ROYAL, M.P.P.

HON. J. NORQUAY.

*Provincial Treasurer.*

I beg to resign my position in your Cabinet, for the reasons stated in the above letter, and request that the same be placed before the Lieut.-Governor-in-Council.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

PIERRE DELORME, M.P.P.

HON. J. NORQUAY,

*Provincial Treasurer.*

Acceptance of Hon. Mr. Royal's resignation.

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day's date containing your resignation as a member of the Executive



Council of the Province of Manitoba, and to inform you that your resignation has been accepted.

I have the honor to be, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

C. P. BROWN,  
*Provincial Secretary,*  
per GEO. ROY.

HON. JOSEPH ROYAL, M.P.P., &c.,  
Winnipeg.

Mr. Norquay wished to carry out his agreement with the English members of the House, by deferring the filling of the vacancies caused by the resignations of Messrs. Royal and Delorme until the close of the session, but Lieutenant-Governor Cauchon would not accede to such a proposition, in view of the important nature of the legislation proposed to be passed. Mr. Norquay therefore chose Mr. S. C. Briggs to fill Mr. Royal's portfolio, and Mr. John Taylor, Mr. Delorme's. The Government was thus materially strengthened, winning the solid support of the English members, while the French were placed in a hopeless opposition: a position from which they never recovered, for, although they afterwards obtained representation in the Cabinet, they no longer held the balance of power, and their vote in the House was no longer a menace to the party in power, nor an influence to be courted by the Opposition.

An Act was passed at this session dispensing with the printing of public documents in the French language, by which it was hoped to save a large item yearly in the cost of public printing. The Act was reserved for the decision of the Governor-General-in-Council, as to its constitutionality. An address to the Governor-General was adopted, praying that the boundaries of the Province be extended eastward to the boundary line of Ontario, at or near Thunder Bay; westward

to the 103rd meridian of longitude, and northward to Hudson's Bay. Other important measures passed at this session were: An Act to provide for the equitable redistribution of the electoral divisions; to provide for the holding of a court of assize at Portage la Prairie; to incorporate the Historical and Scientific Society; for the maintenance of a Provincial Agricultural and Industrial Society; to provide for the incorporation of towns; to provide for the letting by tender the public printing; the County Courts Act. During the long and acrimonious debate on the Ministerial crisis, the question of drawing party lines in local legislation was introduced, Mr. Royal, in the course of his speech, intimating that his loyal adherence to the Conservative party was one of the direct causes of his unpopularity with certain of the English-speaking members, but a majority of the House was against the introduction of party politics in the new Province, although the leaven then introduced eventually forced the acceptance of party issues as a part of the policy of Government and Opposition alike. The Government determined to appeal to the country on the Redistribution Act, and the House prorogued with the understanding that so soon as the voters' lists were compiled, a dissolution should take place.

Manitoba was blessed with a splendid crop in 1879, and the Government seized the opportunity afforded, by the holding of a Dominion Exhibition at Ottawa, to make a display of the products of the North-West, which would serve to convince the people of the older Provinces of the fertility and rare productiveness of the prairie soil. The collection and management of the enterprise was entrusted to Mr. Alexander Begg (the author of this History), and the exhibit was eminently successful in winning prizes and flattering comments innu-

merable at Ottawa, and at other exhibitions where the display was shown.

In October, 1879, the Hon. J. C. Aikins, Secretary of State, and Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs, visited the North-West, and were tendered a banquet by the Conservatives of Winnipeg. Hon. Mr. Norquay presided as chairman, and in replying to the toast of the "Prairie Province," he declared his firm belief that the National Policy was "the one true policy to build up a great country like Canada." This was accepted as a declaration of allegiance to the Conservative party, and its local adherents were well pleased at having, as they thought, secured the fealty of the Premier; but in his election address, published shortly afterwards, Mr. Norquay said: "I would be lacking in duty, did I not acknowledge the attention paid to Provincial delegations by the respective representatives of the two great parties in Canada, and I believe that the interests of the Province can be best served by eschewing party issues in our local affairs, and by rendering such assistance and advice to the Federal authorities as are best calculated to advance the interests of our common country."

Parliament was dissolved by proclamation on November 26th, 1879, and the Provincial general elections were held on December 16th. The Government was sustained by a sweeping majority; indeed, the *Free Press* claimed that but two Independents and one Oppositionist had been elected, and the first division in the new House, which assembled on January 25th, 1880, proved the statement to be practically correct, but three members voting in opposition. It may be imagined, under the circumstances, that the session was uneventful. In November, 1879, Hon. S. C. Biggs retired from the Govern-

ment for private reasons, and he was succeeded by Hon. M. A. Girard, who took the portfolio of Provincial Secretary; and on January 7th, 1880, the portfolio of Agriculture, which had been made vacant by the defeat of the Hon. John Taylor at the general elections, was given to Hon. Maxime Gaulet. The French had now two representatives in the Cabinet, and the entire French contingent of six were Government supporters. The House prorogued on February 14th, 1880. During the session some important measures were enacted, the Drainage Act being the most notable. There was but one division during the session, and that could not be properly called a division, in the accepted meaning of the term, as it was on an amendment that a bill be given the "six months hoist," and did not affect the Government. The first session of the fourth Parliament of Manitoba was the most harmonious meeting of an argumentative body that we have any record of, although it was not by any means a "Quakers' meeting." Mr. Norquay must have keenly enjoyed the success of his first effort in leadership, and, to his credit be it said, he bore his honors modestly, and never wantonly abused the power which he possessed in its plenitude at that period of his political career.

The questions of extending the boundaries and "better terms" were again the subjects of memorials from the Provincial Legislature to the authorities at Ottawa, and in March, 1880, Hon. Messrs. Norquay, Brown, and Gilbert McMicken, Speaker of the House, formed a delegation to present the claims of the Province at Ottawa. The delegates requested the withdrawal of \$100,000 of capital account, for the prosecution of the Provincial drainage system, the appropriation of a sum sufficient to provide suitable public buildings, and the extension of the boundaries of the Province. The Govern-

ment at Ottawa intimated that they would give the two former requests their favorable consideration, but the latter could not be dealt with until the Ontario boundary was definitely settled. The debate on the Pacific Railway, which overshadowed all other business in the House just at that time, and the prorogation which followed, prevented an adjustment of Manitoba's claims, and the delegates returned to await the re-assembling of the Dominion House.

The result of the negotiations for better terms, and the extension of the boundaries, will be narrated in a future chapter.

During the recess, Capt. Thomas Scott, member for Winnipeg, had been elected to represent Selkirk in the House of Commons, and Captain D. H. McMillan replaced him in the Local Legislature. He was opposed by Mr. H. M. Howell and Mr. D. B. Woodworth, defeating them by 291 and 308, respectively. Mr. Howell ran as a supporter of the Norquay Government, Mr. Woodworth in Opposition, and Capt. McMillan as an Independent. Mr. W. H. Nash, member for Emerson, having been appointed Registrar of Deeds for that division, was replaced in the House by Mr. Thomas Carney, a Government supporter, who defeated his opponent, Mr. Alexander Waddell, by 179 to 83.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

### LORD LORNE'S VISIT TO THE NORTH-WEST.

It is a noteworthy fact that in every instance, from the time of Lord Lisgar down to the present, each Governor-General of Canada, after severing his connection with the Dominion, retained a fond recollection of his associations with the Canadian people, and never lost an opportunity of saying a good word in favor of them and their country. Of the Marquis of Lorne this is especially true, and since his departure from Canada he has never ceased, by means of his pen and by his voice, to sound the praises of the Dominion. While with us, he and his amiable consort, the Princess Louise, took an untiring interest in our welfare, and the people of the North-West have every reason to be grateful to him for his advocacy of their interests since his visit during 1881.

On the 21st July of that year, the Marquis of Lorne and his party, consisting of Lieut.-Col. De Winton, Capt. Chater, Capt. Percival, Capt. Bagot, Rev. Dr. McGregor, of St. Cuthbert's Edinburgh; Mr. Sidney Hall, of the *London Graphic*; Mr. Charles Austin, of the *Times*; Dr. Sewell, of Quebec; and Mr. Campbell, left Collingwood on the steamer Frances Smith, bound for Prince Arthur's Landing, which place was reached on the 25th, after a pleasant sail on Lake Superior. As the steamer approached the Landing, a salute of cannon

was fired, and when the party stepped ashore appropriate addresses were presented to His Excellency. In the evening a huge bonfire was lighted, and there was a fine display of fireworks. The next morning a train, consisting of three flat cars, caboose, a wood car, and powerful locomotive, was in waiting to convey the visitors inland, and by six o'clock they were *en route*. The caboose was handsomely fitted up with carpets, sofas, easy chairs, etc., and the flat cars furnished with seats and awnings. The palatial sleeping cars of the Canadian Pacific Railway did not then exist, nor had they found place in the imagination of the most sanguine. But the contractors of the railway managed to make Lord Lorne and his party very comfortable indeed.

The trip by rail from Thunder Bay to Wabigoon Lake, a distance of 220 miles, was made in eleven hours, and at the latter place His Excellency met a number of Indians from the neighboring tribes. At Wabigoon Lake the party bade adieu to the railway for the time being, and embarked upon a sailboat, which was taken in tow by a tug, and in this way the journey was made by water to the Seven-mile Portage, which the travellers crossed on foot. When they arrived at the Eagle Lake side of the portage they found two splendid canoes, highly decorated, waiting to convey them to a barge, lying a few hundred yards from the shore. On this barge, towed by a tug, the party made the journey to the end of Eagle Lake, where another portage was encountered, which brought them to Clear Water Lake, where ten large and brilliantly painted bark canoes, fully manned by some of the best canoe men in the North-West, Indians, Half-Breeds and Scotchmen, were waiting to receive them. Clear Water Lake was quickly crossed, and about dark the Water-Shed Portage was reached, leading to Bear's Neck Lake.

Thus far the lakes which were passed were tributary to the waters of Eagle Lake, but now the water-shed had been crossed, and the streams were found flowing southward toward Lake of the Woods. Bear's Neck Lake is only about a mile and a half long, and of course it was traversed in a very short time, and then a short and easy portage brought the travellers to the north shore of one of the most beautiful of all the lakes in the North-West—Bell's Lake. The run across this body of water was eighteen miles to Black Creek, and six miles further on, Blueberry Lake was reached, and then a portage of half a mile brought the party to a landing three miles from the mouth of a small stream emptying into Whitefish Bay, the most easterly portion of the Lake of the Woods.

On reaching the latter, His Excellency and party were conveyed on a barge to Rat Portage, where a grand demonstration was made in his honor, not only by the citizens of the place, but also by the Indians living near there. On the 30th July, the Governor-General left Rat Portage in a York boat for "Camp Two," from which point a special train conveyed him and his suite to Winnipeg, where they arrived late in the evening.

Lord Lorne at once drove to "Silver Heights," the property of Sir Donald A. Smith, and one of the most beautiful spots in Manitoba, which had been placed at his disposal by the hospitable owner. The residence was handsomely furnished, and there, during his stay in the Province, the Governor-General was royally entertained. The old house at Silver Heights (since destroyed by fire), with its spacious galleries, quaint corners, fine rooms and chambers, was thrown open on many occasions, through the kindness of Sir Donald Smith, for the entertainment of distinguished men and women, and

its hospitalities became a household word in Manitoba. When the house was destroyed by fire, one of the most noteworthy landmarks in the Province disappeared.

The reception tendered to Lord Lorne by Winnipeg was most enthusiastic. The streets were gaily decorated, arches erected, and on the Monday following his arrival, an address was presented to His Excellency by the civic authorities, and the same day he laid the corner stone of the Manitoba College.

On the days following this, there were picnics, games, races, garden parties, etc., etc., and for a whole week the city may be said to have put on holiday attire. On the 8th of August, the Governor-General left Winnipeg by special train for Portage la Prairie, where he was enthusiastically entertained by the people. On the 9th the party again took train to the end of the track, which was then about thirty miles farther on, where His Excellency and Hon. John Norquay, the Premier of the Province, laid a rail on the C.P.R.

From the end of the track the Mounted Police escorted the Governor-General and party, and on the 10th they camped at Rapid City, on the 11th at Shoal Lake, and on the 13th they reached Fort Ellice. On August 17th, the party arrived at Qu'Appelle, and on the 25th, crossing the South Saskatchewan they reached Carlton the same evening. They then went to Prince Albert by steamer, returning to Carlton on the 28th, and on the 30th reached Battleford by steamer.

Fort Calgary was visited on the 12th September, and on the 17th, Fort McLeod was reached after a most interesting march of hundreds of miles over the prairie. Everywhere the Governor-General was enthusiastically received by white men and Indians, the latter meeting him sometimes in large numbers,

on one occasion fully 3,000 being present. Lord Lorne enjoyed the splendid shooting along the route, and had the pleasure of witnessing one of the last buffalo hunts on the plains.

On the 27th September, he visited Fort Shaw in Montana, and it was not until the 8th October that he returned to Winnipeg, after an absence of two months, constantly travelling over the prairie country.

At a dinner, given in his honor, His Excellency delivered what may be deemed the most exhaustive and interesting address during his administration. The speech was characterized by a few as visionary and exaggerated in some respects, but the light of after days has shown that the statements of His Excellency were within bounds.

The Marquis of Lorne, after referring in feeling terms to the lamentable occurrence—the assassination of President Garfield—in the United States, spoke of the North-West in the following words :—

Beautiful as are the numberless lakes and illimitable forests of Keewatin—the land of the north wind to the east of you—yet it was pleasant “to get behind the north wind,” and to reach your open plains. The contrast is great between the utterly silent and shadowy solitudes of the pine and fir forests and the sunlit and breezy ocean of Meadowland, voiceful with the music of birds, which stretches onward from the neighborhood of your city. In Keewatin, the lumber industry and mining enterprises can alone be looked for, but here it is impossible to imagine any kind of work which shall not produce results equal to those attained in any of the great cities of the world. Unknown a few years ago, except for some differences which had arisen amongst its people, we see Winnipeg now with a population unanimously joined in happy concord and rapidly lifting it to the front rank amongst the commercial centres of the continent. We may look in vain elsewhere for a situation so favorable and so commanding—many as are the fair regions of which we can boast. There may be some among you before whose eyes the whole wonderful panorama of our Provinces has passed—the ocean garden Island of Prince Edward ; the magnificent valleys of the St. John and Sussex ; the marvel-



lous country, the home of "Evangeline," where Blomidon looks down on the tides of Fundy and over tracts of red soil, richer than the weald of Kent. You may have seen the fortified Paradise of Quebec; and Montreal, whose prosperity and beauty is worthy of her Great St. Lawrence, and you may have admired the well-wrought and splendid Province of Ontario, and rejoiced at the growth of her capital, Toronto, and yet, nowhere will you find a situation whose natural advantages promise so great a future as that which seems ensured to Manitoba and to Winnipeg, the Heart City of our Dominion. The measureless meadows which commence here, stretch, without interruption of their good soil, westward to your boundary. The Province is a green sea over which the summer winds pass in waves of rich grasses and flowers, and on this vast extent it is only as yet here and there that a yellow patch shows some gigantic wheat field. Like a great net cast over the whole are the bands and clumps of poplar wood which are everywhere to be met with, and which, no doubt, when the prairie fires are more carefully guarded against, will, wherever they are wanted, still further adorn the landscape. The meshes of this wood-netting are never further than twenty or thirty miles apart. Little hay swamps and sparkling lakelets, teeming with wild fowl, are always close at hand, and if the surface water in some of these has alkali, excellent water can always be had in others, and by a simple process of digging for it a short distance beneath the sod with a spade, the soil being so devoid of stones that it is not even necessary to use a pick. No wonder that under these circumstances we hear no croaking. Croakers are very rare animals throughout Canada. It was remarked with surprise by an Englishman accustomed to British grumbling, that even the frogs sing instead of croaking in Canada, and the few letters that have appeared speaking of disappointment, will be amongst the rarest autographs which the next generation will cherish in their museums. But with even the best troops of the best army in the world you will find a few maligners—a few skulkers. However well an action has been fought, you will hear officers who have been engaged say that there were some men whose idea seemed to be that it was easier to conduct themselves as became them, at the rear than at the front. So there have been a few lonely and lazy voices raised in the stranger press, dwelling upon your difficulties and ignoring your triumphs. These have appeared from the pens of men who have failed in their own countries and have failed here, who are born failures, and will fail till life fails them. They are like the soldiers that run away from the best armies, seeking to spread discomfiture which exists only in those things they call their minds—and who, returning to the cities, say their comrades are defeated; or, if they are not beaten, they should in their opinion, be so. We have found as we expected, that their tales are not worthy the credence even of the timid. There was not one person who

had manfully faced the first difficulties— always far less than those to be encountered in the older Provinces— but said that he was getting on well and he was glad he had come, and he generally added that he believed his bit of country must be the best, and that he only wished his friends could have the same good fortune, for his expectations were more than realized. It is well to remember that the men who will succeed here, as in every young community, are usually the able-bodied, and that their entry on their new field of labor should be when the year is young. Men advanced in life, and coming from the old country, will find their comfort best consulted by the ready provided accommodation to be obtained by the purchase of a farm in the old provinces. All that the settler in Manitoba would seem to require is, that he should look out for a locality where there is either good natural drainage, and ninety-nine hundredths of the country has this, and that he should be able readily to procure in Winnipeg, or elsewhere, some light pumps like those used in Abyssinia for the easy supply of water from a depth of a few feet below the surface. Alkali in the water will never hurt his cattle, and dykes of turf and the planting of trees would everywhere insure him and them the shelter that may be required. Five hundred dollars should be his own to spend on his arrival, if he wishes to farm. If he comes as an artisan, he may, like the happy masons now to be found in Winnipeg, get the wages of a British Army Colonel\* by putting up houses as fast as brick, wood, and mortar, can be put together. Favorable testimony of the climate was everywhere given. The heavy night dews throughout the North-West keep the country green when everything is burned to the south, and the steady winter cold, although it sounds formidable when registered by the thermometer is universally said to be far less trying than the cold to be encountered at the old English Puritan City of Boston, in Massachusetts. It is the moisture in the atmosphere which makes cold tell, and the Englishman, who, with the thermometer at zero, would in his moist atmosphere be shivering, would here find one flannel shirt sufficient clothing while working. I never like to make comparisons, and am always unwillingly driven to do so, although it seems to be the natural vice of the well-travelled Englishman. Over and over again in Canada have I been asked if such and such a bay was not wonderfully like the Bay of Naples, for the inhabitants had often been told so. I always professed to be unable to see the resemblance, of course, entirely out of deference to the susceptibilities of the Italian nation. So, one of our party, a Scotchman, whenever in the Rocky Mountains he saw some grand pyramid, or gigantic rock, ten or eleven thousand feet in height, would exclaim that the one was the very image of Arthur's Seat, and the other of Edinburgh Castle. With the fear of On-

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\*Mason's wages had risen to an extraordinary height in the autumn of 1881.

tario before my eyes, I would therefore never venture to compare a winter here to those of our greatest province, but I am bound to mention that when a friend of mine put the question to a party of sixteen Ontario men who had settled in the western portion of Manitoba, as to the comparative merits of the cold season in the two Provinces—fourteen of them voted for Manitoba climate, and only two elderly men said that they preferred that of Toronto. You will therefore see how that which is sometimes called a very unequal criterion of right and justice, a large majority determines this question. Now, although we are at present in Manitoba, and Manitoba interests may dominate our thoughts, yet you may not object to listen for a few moments to our experience of the country which lies further to the west. To the present company the assertion may be a bold one, but they will be sufficiently tolerant to allow me to make it, if it goes no further, and I therefore say that we may seek for the main chance elsewhere than in Main-street. The future fortunes of this country, beyond this Province, bear directly upon its prosperity. Although you may not be able to dig for four feet through the same character of black loam that you have here, when you get to the country beyond Fort Ellice, yet in its main features it is the same right up to the forks of the Saskatchewan. I deeply regret that I was not able to visit Edmonton, which bids fair to rival any place in the North-West. Settlement is rapidly increasing there, and I met at Battleford one man who alone had commissions from ten Ontario farmers to buy for them at that place. Nothing can exceed the fertility and excellence of the land along almost the whole course of that great river, and, to the north of it, in the wide strip belting its banks and extending up to the Peace River, there will be room for a great population whose opportunities for profitable cultivation of the soil will be most enviable. The netting of wood of which I have spoken as covering all the prairie between Winnipeg and Battleford is, beyond that point, drawn up upon the shores of the prairie sea, and lies in masses of fine forest in the gigantic half circle formed by the Saskatchewan and the Rockies. It is only in secluded valleys on the banks of large lakes and in river bottoms that much wood is found in the far west, probably owing to the prevalence of fires. These are easily preventable, and there is no reason why the plantations should not flourish there, in good situations, as well as elsewhere. Before I leave the Saskatchewan, let me advert to the ease with which the steam navigation of that river can be vastly improved. At present, there is only one boat at all worthy of the name of a river steamer upon it, and this steamer lies up during the night. A new company is, I am informed, now being organized, and there is no reason why, if the new vessels are properly equipped and furnished with electric lights which may now be cheaply provided, they should not keep up a night and day service, so that the

settlers at Prince Albert, Edmonton, and elsewhere, may not have, during another season, to suffer great privations incident to the want of transportation, which has loaded the banks of Grand Rapids during the present year with freight awaiting steam transport. The great cretaceous coal seams at the headwaters of the rivers which rise in the Rocky Mountains or in their neighborhood, and flow towards your doors, should not be forgotten. Although you have some coal in districts nearer to you, we should remember that on the headwaters of these streams there is plenty of the most excellent kind, which can be floated down to you before you have a complete railway system. Want of time, as well as a wish to see the less vaunted parts of the country, took me south-westward from Battleford over land which in many of the maps is variously marked as consisting of arid plains or as a continuation of the "American desert." The newer maps, especially those containing the explorations of Professor Macoun, have corrected this wholly erroneous idea. For two days' march—that is to say for about sixty or seventy miles south of Battleford—we passed over land whose excellence could not be surpassed for agricultural purposes. Thence to the neighborhood of the Red Deer Valley the soil is lighter, but still, in my opinion, in most places good for grain—in any case most admirable for summer pasturage—and it will certainly be good also for stock in winter as soon as it shall pay to have some hay stored in the valleys. The whole of it has been the favorite feeding ground of the buffalo. Their tracks, from watering-place to watering-place, never too far apart from each other, were everywhere to be seen, while in very many tracks their dung lay so thickly that the appearance of the ground was only comparable to that of an English farmyard. Let us hope that the *entr'acte* will not be long before the disappearance of the buffalo on these scenes is followed by the appearance of domestic herds. The Red Deer Valley is especially remarkable as traversing a country where, according to the testimony of Indian chiefs travelling with us, snow never lies for more than three months, and the heavy growth of poplar in the bottoms, the quantity of the "bull" or high cranberry bushes, and the rich branches that hung from the choke cherries, showed us that we had come into that part of the Dominion which, among the plainsmen, is designated as "God's Country." From this onward to the Bow River, and thence to the frontier line, the trail led through what will be one of the most valued of our Provinces, subject to those warm winds called the "Chinooks." The settlers will hardly ever use anything but wheeled vehicles during winter; and, throughout a great portion of the land, early sowing—or fall sowing—will be all that will be necessary to ensure him against early frosts. At Calgary—a place interesting at the present time as likely to be upon that Pacific Railway line which will connect you with the Pacific and give you access to "that vast shore beyond the furthest sea,"



the shore of Asia—a good many small herds of cattle have been introduced within the last few years. During this year, a magnificent herd of between six and seven thousand had been brought in, and the men who attended them, and who came from Montana, Oregon and Texas, all averred that their opinion of the new ranche was higher than that of any with which they had been acquainted in the south. Excellent crops have been raised by men who had sown not only in the river bottoms but also upon the so-called “bench” lands or plateaux above. This testimony was also given by others on the way to Fort McLeod and beyond it thus closing, most satisfactorily, the song of praise we had heard from practical men throughout our whole journey of 1,200 miles. Let me advert for one moment to some of the causes which have enabled settlers to enjoy in such peace the fruits of their industry. Chief amongst these must be reckoned the policy of kindness and justice which was inaugurated by the Hudson’s Bay Company in their treatment of the Indians. Theirs is one of the cases in which a traders’ association has upheld the maxim that “honesty is the best policy,” even when you are dealing with savages. The wisdom and righteousness of their dealing on enlightened principles, which are fully followed out by their servants to-day, gave the cue to the Canadian Government. The Dominion, through her Indian officers and her mounted constabulary, is showing herself the inheritress of these traditions. She has been fortunate in organizing the Mounted Police Force, a corps of whose services it would be impossible to speak too highly. A mere handful in that vast wilderness, they have at all times shown themselves ready to go anywhere and do anything. They have often had to act on occasions demanding the combined individual pluck and prudence rarely to be found amongst any soldiery, and there has not been a single occasion on which any member of the force has lost his temper under trying circumstances, or has not fulfilled his mission as a guardian of the peace. Severe journeys in the winter, and difficult arrests, have had to be effected in the centre of savage tribes, and not once has the moral prestige, which was in reality their only weapon, been found insufficient to cope with difficulties which in America have often baffled the efforts of whole columns of armed men. I am glad of this opportunity to name these men as well worthy of Canada’s regard—as sons who have well maintained her name and fame. And now that you have had the patience to listen to me and we have crossed the continent together, let me advise you as soon as possible to get up a branch Club-house, situated amongst our Rocky Mountains, where during summer your members may form themselves into an Alpine Club, and thoroughly enjoy the beautiful peaks and passes of our Alps. In the railway you will have a beautiful approach to the Pacific. The line, after traversing for days the plains, will come upon the rivers, whose sheltering valleys have all much the



same character. The river beds are like great moats in a modern fortress — you do not see them till close upon them. As in the glacis and rampart of a fortress, the shot can reach across the smoothed surfaces above the ditch, so any winds that may arise may sweep across the twin levels above the river fosses. The streams run coursing along the sunken levels in these vast ditches, which are sometimes miles in width. Sheltered by the undulating banks, knolls, or cliffs which form the margin of their excavated bounds, are woods, generally of poplar, except in the northern and western fir fringe. On approaching the mountains, their snow-caps look like huge tents encamped along the rolling prairie. Up to this great camp, of which a length of two hundred miles is sometimes visible, the rivers wind in trenches, looking like the covered ways by which siege works zig-zag up to a besieged city. On a nearer view the camp line changes to ruined marble palaces, and through their tremendous walls and giant woods you will soon be dashing on the train for a winter basking on the warm Pacific coast. You have a country whose value it would be insanity to question, and which, to judge from the emigration taking place from the older provinces, will be indissolubly linked with them. It must support a vast population. If we may calculate from the progress we have already made in comparison with our neighbors, we shall have no reason to fear comparison with them on the new areas now open to us. We have now four million four hundred thousand people, and these, with the exception of the comparatively small numbers as yet in this Province, are restricted to the old area. Yet for the last ten years our increase has been over 18 per cent., whereas during the same period all the New England States taken together have shown an increase only of 15 per cent. In the last thirty years in Ohio the increase has been 61 per cent. Ontario has seen, during that space of time, 101 per cent. of increase, while Quebec has increased 52 per cent. Manitoba, in ten years, has increased 289 per cent., a greater rate than any hitherto attained, and to judge from this year's experience is likely to increase to an even more wonderful degree during the following decade. Statistics are at all times wearisome, but are not these full of hope? Are they not facts giving just ground for that pride in our progress which is conspicuous among our people, and ample reason for our belief that the future may be allowed to take care of itself. They who pour out prophecies of change, prescribing medicines for a sound body, are wasting their time. It is among strangers that we hear such theories propounded by destiny men. With you the word "annexation" has in the last years only been heard in connexion with annexation of more territory to Manitoba. I must apologise to a Canadian audience for mentioning the word at all in any other connection. In America the annexation of this country is disavowed by all responsible leaders. As it was well expressed to me

lately, the best men in the States desire only to annex the friendships and goodwill of Canada. To be sure it may be otherwise with the camp followers ; they often talk as if the swallowing and digestion of Canada by them were only a question of time and of rising reason amongst us. How far the power of the camp followers extends, it is not for us to determine. They have, however, shown that they are powerful enough to capture a few English writers, our modern minor prophets, who, in little magazine articles are fond of teaching the nations how to behave, whose words preach the superiority of other countries to their own, and the proximate dismemberment of the British Empire, which has the honor to acknowledge them as citizens. They have, with our American friends of whom I speak, at all events, one virtue in common, they are great speculators. In the case of our southern friends this is not a matter to be deplored by us, for American speculation has been of direct material benefit to Canada, and we must regret that our American citizens are not coming over to us so fast as are the Scotch, the Irish, the Germans and the Scandinavians. Morally, also, it is not to be deplored that such speculations are made, for they show that it is thought that Canadians would form a useful though an unimportant wing for one of the great parties ; and, moreover, such prophecies clothe with amusement "the dry bones" of discussion. But it is best always to take men as we find them, and not to believe that they will be different even if a kindly feeling first for ourselves, and afterwards for them, should make us desire to change them. Let us rather judge from the past and from the present, than take flights unguided by experience into the imaginary regions of the future. What do we find has been and is the tendency of the peoples of this continent ? Does not history show, and do not modern and existing tendencies declare, that the lines of cleavage among them lie along the lines of latitude ? Men spread from east to west, and from west to east ; the political lines, which mean the lines of diversity, extend. The central spaces are, and will be yet more, the great centres of population. Can it be imagined that the vast central hives of men will allow the eastern or western sea-board people to come between them with separate empire, and shut them out in any degree from full and free intercourse with the markets of the world beyond them ? Along the lines of longitude no such tendencies of division exist. The markets of the North Pole are not as yet productive, and with South America commerce is comparatively small. The safest conclusion, if conclusions are to be drawn at all is, that what has hitherto been will, in the nature of things, continue ; that whatever separations exist will be marked by zones of latitude. For other evidence we must search in vain. Our county councils ; the municipal corporations ; the local provincial chambers ; the central Dominion Parliament ; and last, not least, a perfect'y unfettered press, are all free channels for the

expression of the feelings of our citizens. Why is it that in each and all of these reflectors of the thoughts of men we see nothing but determination to keep and develop the precious heritage we have in our constitution, so capable of any development which the people may desire? Let us hear Canadians, if we wish to speak for them. These public bodies and the public press are the mouthpieces of the people's mind. Let us not say for them what they never say for themselves. It is no intentional misrepresentation, I believe, which has produced these curious examples of the fact that individual prepossessions may distort public proof. It reminds me of an interpretation once said to have been given by a bad interpreter of a speech delivered by a savage warrior, who, in a very dignified and extremely lengthy discourse, expressed the contentment of his tribe with the order and with the good which had been introduced amongst them by the law of the white man. His speech was long enough fully to impress with its meaning and its truth, all who took pains to listen to him, and who could understand his language, but the interpreter had, unfortunately, different ideas of his own, and was displeased with his own individual treatment. When at last he was asked what the chief and his council had said in their eloquent orations, he turned round and only exclaimed, —He dam displeased! And what did his councillors say! —They dam displeased! No, gentlemen, let each man in public or literary life in both nations do all that in him lies to cement their friendship, so essential for their mutual welfare. But this cannot be cemented by the publication of vain vaticinations. This great part of our great Empire has a natural and warm feeling for our republican brethren, whose fathers parted from us a century ago in anger and bloodshed. May this natural affection never die. It is like the love which is borne by a younger brother to an elder, so long as the big brother behaves handsomely and kindly. I may possibly know something of the nature of such affection, for, as the eldest of a round dozen, I have had experience of the fraternal relation, as exhibited by an unusual number of younger brothers. Never have I known that fraternal tie to fail, but even its strength has its natural limit, so Canada's affection may be measured. None of my younger brothers, however fond of me, would voluntarily ask that his prospects should be altogether overshadowed or swallowed up by mine. So, Canada, if I may express her feelings in words which our neighbors understand, wishes to be their friend, but does not desire to become their food. She rejoices in the big brother's strength and status, but is not anxious to nourish it by offering up her own body, in order that it may afford him, when over-hungry, that happy festival he is in the habit of calling "a square meal." I must ask you now once more, to allow me, gentlemen, to express my acknowledgments to you for this entertainment. It affords another indication of the feelings with which the citizens of Winnipeg regard any person who has

the honor, as the head of the Canadian Government, to represent the Queen. You recognize in the Governor-General the sign and symbol of the union which binds together in one the free and kindred peoples whom God has set over famous isles, and over fertile spaces of mighty continents. I have touched, in speaking to you, on certain vaticinations and certain advice given by a few good Canadians, on the subject of the future of Canada. Gentlemen, I believe that Canadians are well able to take care of themselves, of their future, and the outside world had better listen to them instead of promulgating weak and wild theories of its own. But, however uncertain, and I may add foolish, may be such forecasts, of one thing we may be sure, which is this, that the country you call Canada, and which your sons and your children's children will be proud to know by that name, is a land which will be a land of power among nations. Mistress of a zone of territory favorable for the maintenance of a numerous and homogenous white population, Canada must, to judge from the increase in her strength during the past, and from the many and vast opportunities for the growth of that strength in her new Provinces, in the future be great and worthy her position on the earth. Affording the best and safest highway between Asia and Europe, she will see traffic from both directed to her coasts. With a hand upon either ocean, she will gather from each, for the benefit of her hardy millions, a large share of the commerce of the world. To the east and to the west she will pour forth of her abundance, her treasures of food and the riches of her mines and of her forests, demanded of her by the less fortunate of mankind. I esteem those men favored, indeed, who in however slight a degree have had the honor, or may be yet called upon to take part in the councils of the Statesmen who in this early era of her history are moulding this nation's laws in the forms approved by its representatives. For me, I feel that I can be ambitious of no higher title than to be known as one who administered its government in thorough sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of its founders, and in perfect consonance with the will of its free parliament. I ask for no better lot than to be remembered by its people as rejoicing in the gladness born of their independence and of their loyalty. I desire no other reputation than that which may belong to him who sees his own dearest wishes in process of fulfilment, in their certain progress, in their undisturbed peace, and in their ripening grandeur.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### BETTER TERMS, ENLARGEMENT OF MANITOBA, AND DISALLOWANCE.

THE agitation for better terms, which began in 1871, continued with increasing persistence from year to year. During the Davis administration the question was allowed to remain in abeyance, but on Mr. Norquay's assumption of the reins of Government he made it and the extension of the provincial boundaries prominent features of his policy. His first effort in the direction of securing more favorable terms from the Dominion, with regard to an increase of subsidy, was, as has been shown in a previous chapter, far from being satisfactory or acceptable to the Province. Instead of acceding to the demands made upon them for a reasonable addition to the subsidy, adequate to the requirements of Government, the Dominion authorities only increased the annual grant by a beggarly \$15,000; and, instead of acceding to the equitable request of the Province for control of her school lands, they temporized by lending her \$10,000 for educational purposes.

The demands upon the Province for local improvements, roads and bridges, drainage of swamp lands, etc., which the rapid increase of population and the extension of settlement called for, made it important that the Government should have more funds at command with which to satisfy the increasing wants of the community. The feeling in the Pro-



vince was admirably explained by Hon. John Norquay on the occasion of a banquet tendered to him by his friends and admirers on March 27th, 1881, at Winnipeg. In responding to the toast of "Our Guest," Mr. Norquay, in a brilliant speech, said:—"Fourteen years ago, when Confederation was projected, it was, by universal consent, allowed by the different Provinces that, as far as possible, there should be no resort to direct taxation in political exigencies; and in order to obviate such a necessity, every Province was allowed full control of its public domain, out of which it was expected they would realize a revenue for the purpose of carrying on the affairs of Government, and discharging the responsibilities laid on them by the federal authorities. Such an arrangement I believe to have been eminently wise. Manitoba subsequently entered Confederation, and was entitled to equal justice. It has been said that she was sold by some, and bought by others; but in all fairness she has certainly been hardly dealt with. I claim that in order to deal with us in that spirit of impartiality which should characterise all administrative bodies, we should have been put in possession of our lands. Thus we would have been in a position to work out our own destiny, and be responsible for the due administration of affairs, as they were in the other Provinces. But at the outset our public men only looked to the fact that \$1,500,000 were paid to the Hudson's Bay Company for whatever rights they had to the public lands in Manitoba and the North-West. The fact was entirely ignored that this amount was added to the public debt of Canada, for which you and I are equally responsible—and the discharge of which we assumed (by being citizens of the Dominion) equally with the citizens of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Bruns-

wick, and the other Provinces. What we claim then is, that while as loyal subjects we are willing to assume our share of responsibility in relation to the discharge of the national debt, it is unjust to deprive us of resources which have been allowed in the case of the other Provinces for purposes of local development. We say it is unfair that these resources should be wrested from us to be appropriated to a road built mainly to subserve national purposes. With as much justice could the Federal Government go to Ontario and say, you must contribute ten million acres towards the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, or to Quebec, or any of the other Provinces, and prefer a similar request. Taking away our land was taking away that which, having been found a rich source of revenue by the other Provinces, would have proved a still greater benefit in our case. We are, in short, asked to appropriate for national purposes, our patrimony—our dependence for the future—we are saddled with our share of public indebtedness—have to bear our share of the public burdens equally with the other Provinces. We have our share of the debt incurred for International Railway purposes, and for the improvement of the canal system. Were we, in addition, to give up what ought to be our principal source of local revenue, for the purpose of constructing a great national highway? It is true that the rapid construction of the C. P. R. was of material consequence to us. In common with the other Provinces, we felt an immense interest in the success of an undertaking which had been happily termed a great iron band linking the Provinces together. It might, indeed, connect us together commercially—it might facilitate intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific over British territory—it might give us much coveted means

of ingress and egress—offering to the farmer facilities for moving his grain—to the merchant the means of importing goods; but the real bond of union between the different Provinces—that which will unite them individually—will be justice to all the members of Confederation—impartial dealing in every instance. This, and only this, can bind together as one homogenous people those who dwell on British soil between the Atlantic and Pacific. Let them continue to treat this, the fairest and most promising Province of the Dominion, as a step-child, and so long would there be discontent and heart-burning among the people here. Until we are in the enjoyment of the privileges accorded to the other Provinces it is not in the nature of things that there should be that accord and harmony between this Province and the rest which is so desirable in the interests of all. With a constitution founded on justice and impartiality, Manitoba would, I am convinced, soon take her station as the ablest member of the Confederation, and her loyalty and devotion would have full scope. Beyond that, no citizen should require anything at the hands of the Federal authorities: but, less than that, I hope no citizen of Manitoba will ever be satisfied with.” Mr. Norquay’s utterances were heartily applauded by his auditors, who represented all classes of the community, and every shade of political opinion, as expressing the feeling of the entire population.

It will be remembered that the \$15,000 increase of subsidy, conceded by the Dominion in 1879, was for three years only, and subject to re-adjustment, in 1881, but, in that year, the Ottawa Government declined to make any change in the existing arrangements, other than to allow the Province to draw on capital account to the extent of \$100,000, for drainage and

road-making. The proposition that the lands reclaimed by drainage, or a portion of them, should be handed over to the Province to enable her to recoup the money expended on them, was held over for consideration. The extension of the boundaries was provided for by a Dominion Act, passed in March, 1881, and in May following the Manitoba Legislature passed a measure for the Government of the new territory added to its jurisdiction. Neither of these acts defined the eastern boundary of Manitoba positively, the words used were ambiguous, and left the actual boundary between Ontario and Manitoba an open question. Manitoba accepted the eastern extension of her boundary, subject to the final determination of the dispute then existing between the Dominion and Ontario Governments. The new territory was divided into six electoral divisions, and fifteen municipal divisions. It was provided that the election of a member for the division of Varennes, or Rat Portage (the disputed territory), should not take place until the eastern boundary should be fully known and settled. The Province was also divided into three judicial districts, the Western, Central, and Eastern; and provisions were made for holding courts of assize in each of them. Winnipeg was granted two members in the Legislature. In extending the existing Provincial laws to the new territory, the power was reserved to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to proclaim such laws in force in such portions of the new territory as might be deemed advisable. This wise provision was made in the interests of the many settlers in the west, who had made their homes there in order to escape the disadvantages which they considered existed in Manitoba, where the license system was in force, by bringing up their families in a country where the liquor traffic was prohibited by Federal Legislation. Re-

garding the eastern territory, the provision was deemed necessary to prevent any possible conflict of jurisdiction between Manitoba and Ontario, pending the settlement of the boundary. The act provided:—"That all laws and ordinances in force in the said territory to be added to form a part of the Province of Manitoba, at the time of the coming into force of the said Act of the Parliament of Canada, and all courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, all registration offices for the registration of titles to lands, and all legal commissions, powers and authorities, and all offices, judicial, administrative, and ministerial, existing therein at the time of the coming into force of the said Act of the Parliament of Canada, shall continue therein until the same are repealed by Order in Council, and made subject to the laws of Manitoba."

This legislation was the result of a desire on the part of Manitoba to assume no responsibility in the government of the disputed territory, until such time as the western boundary of Ontario should have been definitely established, but the provisions of a Dominion statute, passed in 1880,\* respecting the administration of criminal justice in the territory in dispute between the Governments of Ontario and Canada, were the means of insensibly bringing her into direct conflict with Ontario. That act provided that every crime committed in any part of the disputed territory might be enquired into, tried and punished, within any county or district in Ontario, or Manitoba, or Keewatin, and such crime should be within the jurisdiction of any court, judge, magistrate or magistrates, or justice or justices of the peace, or other functionaries having jurisdiction over crimes or offences of the like nature, committed within the limits of the county or district in which

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\*Stats. Can., 43 Vic., Cap. 36.



such crime or offence was prosecuted. Such crime or offence might be charged to have been committed in Ontario, or in Keewatin, and any sentence which might have been imposed upon the offender had the offence been committed either in an undisputed part of Ontario, or an undisputed part of Keewatin, might be imposed upon an offender convicted under the act. In case an offender was in custody in any gaol in Ontario or Manitoba, and it was intended that such person should be tried in a province other than the province in the gaol of which he was confined, or in a different part of the same province, then any judge of any superior court in the province in the gaol of which such prisoner was confined, might make an order upon the keeper of such gaol to deliver the prisoner to the person named in the order, who should convey him to the place at which he was to be tried, there to remain in custody until his case had been disposed of. An offender might be committed to gaol at Winnipeg or at Port Arthur's Landing, according to the discretion of the committing judge or magistrate.

This law created a rivalry between the police constables and peace officers of the Dominion, Ontario, and Manitoba. All claimed jurisdiction, and when an offence was committed there arose a dispute as to who should arrest and hold the offender. The magistrates naturally upheld the officers of their respective provinces, and serious riots and disorders resulted. To add to the complication, Ontario organized courts of civil jurisdiction at Rat Portage and other points. The authority of these courts was questioned by persons summoned before them, and the execution of process issued by them was resisted.

The large number of men employed on the construction of the railway between Lake Superior and Manitoba was an

inducement to whiskey dealers to extend their trade to that portion of the country, and despite the severe measures which had been adopted for the suppression of the liquor traffic along the railway line, and the heavy fines and penalties which followed conviction, the whole region was literally flooded with liquor. It was estimated that at least 800 gallons per month was disposed of on the section between White Mouth River and Lake Wabigon during the winter and spring of 1881. The liquor was taken from Winnipeg, concealed in oatmeal, beans, and coal oil barrels, to some convenient point, from which it was distributed by dog train in winter, and by canoe in summer, all along the line. It was sold at \$3 a bottle or \$15 a gallon, sometimes at still higher rates, and when it is considered that over 2,000 men were employed on the section mentioned, nearly every one of whom spent much of his hard earnings in drink, it will be seen that the risks taken by the whiskey vendors were overshadowed by the immense profits accruing from their business.

The Stipendiary Magistrates and Justices of the Peace appointed by the Dominion and Ontario, assisted by the police under their respective jurisdictions, exercised their authority most energetically in suppressing the illegal traffic in intoxicants, but their efforts were thwarted to a certain extent by the continuous clashing of jurisdiction, which gave rise to grave disorders, and brought the name of justice into ridicule—facts that were taken advantage of by the unscrupulous whiskey peddlers. On August 15th, 1881, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba issued a proclamation, extending the laws of the province to the disputed territory, and a month later the County of Varennes (which includes the disputed territory) was declared a judicial district, and a County Court

was established therein, its sittings to be held at Rat Portage. A registrar of deeds, coroner, justices of the peace, and constables, were also appointed for the new county. This action, on the part of Manitoba, was scarcely in line with the position of strict neutrality which Mr. Norquay declared should be his policy in regard to the eastern territory added to the province while its boundary was unsettled, and many considered it ill-advised, as the dispute was essentially a Dominion affair, in which Manitoba had no standing, unless she chose to assume a responsibility foreign to her best interests.

The better terms agitation was not allowed to abate, and early in 1882 Hon. Messrs. Norquay and Lariviere (who had succeeded Hon. M. A. Girard, as Provincial Secretary, in Nov., 1881, on that gentleman's assuming the portfolio of Minister of Agriculture, left vacant by the resignation of Hon. Maxime Goulet), proceeded to Ottawa to again press the claims of the Province with the Dominion Government. The result of their mission is embodied in the following memorandum, approved by the Governor-General in Council:—

“The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration the memorandum dated 7th February last, from Messrs. Norquay and Lariviere, delegates to the Executive Council of Manitoba, appointed to confer with the Privy Council of Canada in reference to the several subjects set forth in the printed memorandum submitted to them, and they have the honor to report as follows:—

“*Increase of Subsidy.*—The Committee of the Privy Council have carefully considered the application in this respect of the delegates from Manitoba. The allowance for government and legislation for a population of 120,000 was nearly \$30,000; that of British Columbia, upon a population of 60,000, was

\$35,000. The Committee of the Council were obliged to bear in mind such analogies in dealing with the request of the delegates, but they are prepared to recommend an increase on this head to Manitoba of \$20,000, making the allowance to that province for legislation and government \$50,000. The present population of Manitoba is estimated by the delegates to be nearly 90,000, upon a basis of 25,000 immigrants having entered the country since the census returns, these returns showing an actual population of 64,814. There is, moreover, a large monthly addition of intending settlers arriving, and with many indications that this stream of immigration will continue and increase. The Committee of the Privy Council are willing to recommend that the population be reckoned, for the purpose of adjusting the sum *per capita* to be allowed to the province, at 150,000, and, at 80 cents a head, to allow \$120,000 thereon, and they are also willing to allow to Manitoba the same sum that was allowed to Prince Edward Island in lieu of lands—\$45,000. These sums, with the interest due Manitoba on the undrawn allowance for debt, would make the income of that province from Dominion sources, \$227,153. The Committee of the Privy Council are not prepared to recommend any change in respect to Dominion lands lying in Manitoba. The analogy which the delegates see between the public lands in other provinces and those in Manitoba does not seem to the Committee of Council to be well drawn, inasmuch as the other provinces owned their lands before Confederation, and brought them into the union with them as their own property, whereas the whole of Manitoba was acquired by the Dominion by purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company, and thus became the property of the Dominion, and stands really in the same position as lands in the Territories of the United

States which are not given to new States, as these new States are created. Considering, however, the peculiar position of the Province, the Committee of Council have indicated in the previous paragraph their willingness to allow Manitoba at the rate of \$45,000 a year, as is done in Prince Edward Island, in lieu of lands.

*School Lands.*—These lands, which are set apart for educational purposes, were vested as a high trust in the Government of Canada, and the future necessity of the Province of Manitoba will, it is thought by the Committee of Council, be best consulted by retaining the administration of the trust, as contemplated by the laws of the Dominion; the annual interest, less expense of administration, being paid to the province for educational purposes.

*Half-Breeds' Grant.*—In the added territory the grants to Half-Breeds in the original Province of Manitoba were made on account of the peculiar circumstances of the time and the position of these Half-Breeds, but the result was, as regards them, not encouraging, and to make additional grants to the children of Half-Breeds, in the added territory, would be, it was thought, simply to furnish additional opportunity for speculators, without really benefiting the Half-Breeds.

*Appointment of Judges.*—The Committee of the Privy Council recommend the appointment of two County Judges, and that Parliament be asked to provide salaries for them, the Legislature of Manitoba having by Cap. 28 of 44 Vic., passed the necessary provision in that behalf."

On January 13th, 1882, the Dominion Government disallowed the Act, passed at the previous session of the Manitoba Legislature, incorporating the Manitoba South-Eastern Railway Company, which was intended to run south-easterly from



Winnipeg to some point on the International Boundary Line, to connect with the United States Railway system. The act was disallowed on the ground that such a road would conflict with the rights granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway—a perfectly reasonable contention—but although Manitoba, through her representatives in the Dominion House, had been a party to the bargain with the C.P.R., her people regarded the disallowance as a direct menace to their interests, and denounced the action as an outrage against Provincial rights.

The unsatisfactory outcome of Mr. Norquay's mission to Ottawa was published while the Province was in a ferment of excitement over the disallowance of the South-Eastern charter, and gave his political opponents an opportunity of making a long deferred and bitter attack upon him. The *Free Press*, which had been regarded as the organ of the Government, suddenly changed front, and denounced Mr. Norquay and his colleagues as a group of incompetents, who had deserted their principles and betrayed the Province, for the sake of retaining themselves in office.

The *Free Press* formulated three serious charges against the Administration. It characterized their action in regard to the disputed territory as "meddlesome interference," inimical to the interests of the Province, and in direct violation of their pledges to Parliament. It charged that they had displayed inexcusable weakness in mildly submitting to the arbitrary action of the Dominion in disallowing the South-Eastern Railway Act, and that their acceptance of the paltry increase of subsidy, and the decision of the Dominion with respect to Manitoba's lands, had injured the future prospects and sacrificed the dignity of the Province. *The Times*, the Conservative paper, defended the Government from these charges, and

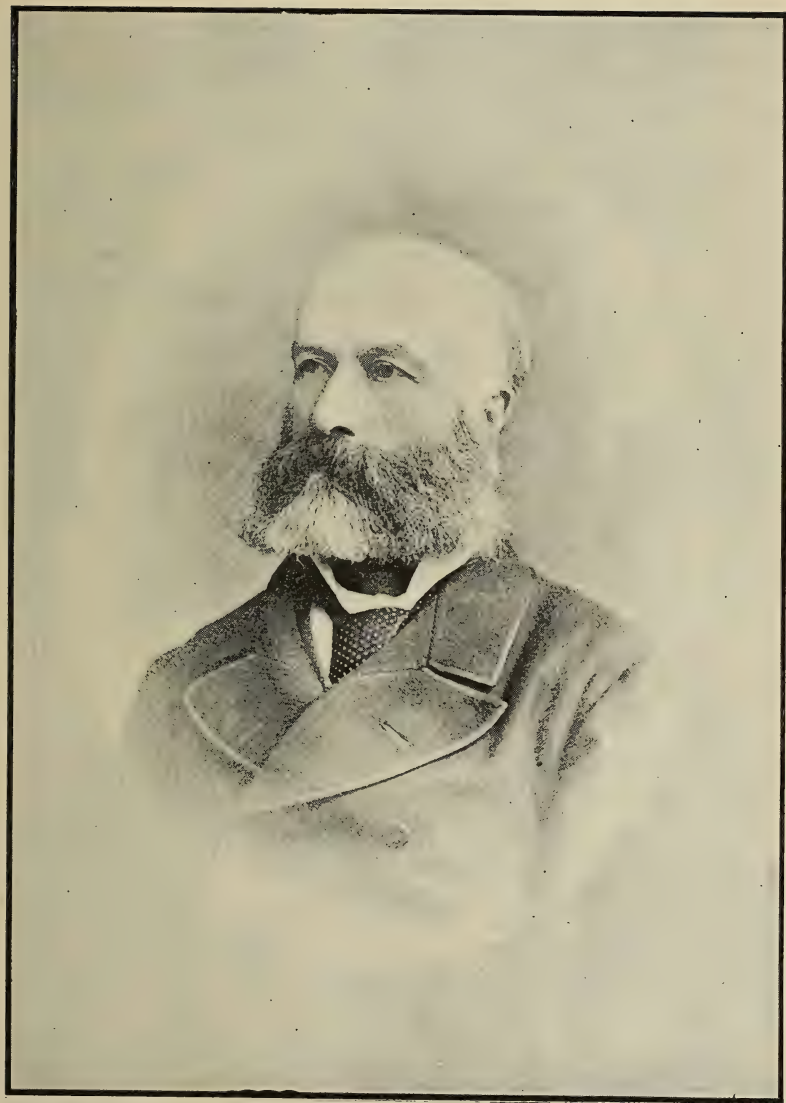
advocated the acceptance of the terms as being temporary and susceptible of readjustment from time to time, as the increasing necessities of the Province should require. When the Legislature assembled, on April 28th, 1882, the House had increased by the election of five new members, for the additional constituencies created by the extension of the boundary westward. These were Messrs. James P. Alexander, Turtle Mountain; John A. Davidson, Dauphin; S. Clement, Birtle; John Crerar, Minnedosa; John W. Sifton, Brandon. The tone adopted by the Member (Dr. D. H. Wilson, North Dufferin), who moved the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, indicated that the days of no party in Provincial matters were drawing to a close, and that thereafter the affairs of the Province would be fought out on the lines of party politics.

During the recess, an Opposition had been organized, under the leadership of Mr. Thomas Greenway, Member for Mountain, who submitted the Government to severe criticism at every stage of legislation, and made the session a memorable one, from its duration and the enlivenment of the debates. Opposition was somewhat new to Mr. Norquay. Since his acceptance of the leadership, his path in the House had been one of roses; no combined resistance had ever been made to his legislation, but when he found a section of the legislature arrayed against him, he boldly accepted the gauge of war, and, by his future conduct of affairs, earned the reputation of being a political strategist of the highest order.

During the debate on the address, Mr. Greenway moved:—  
 “That this House regrets that in a matter of such vital importance to this Province as the recent disallowance, by the Dominion Government, of the South-Eastern Railway char-

ter, granted by this legislature at its last session, that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has not been advised to enter his protest against such an interference with our Provincial rights. And, that in view of the great lack of railway facilities now afforded this city and Province—so much felt at present—it is deeply to be regretted that the said act should have been disallowed, thereby indefinitely postponing the additional railway facilities so essential to the development of the country.” In replying, Mr. Norquay quoted the ninety-second clause of the British North America Act, defining the powers of provincial legislatures with regard to railway charters, which distinctly provides that no province shall have the right to charter lines of railway extending beyond the limits of the province, and, while regretting the fact, he held that the South-Eastern charter was *ultra vires* of the legislature, and that the Dominion had a perfect right to disallow it. Mr. Norquay might have added that the Federal Government had no alternative, nor discretionary power in the premises, as, without a direct breach of good faith, they could not ignore their contract with the C.P.R. Company, one of the clauses of which was conclusive in the South-Eastern and similar cases. The clause read as follows; “For twenty years from the date hereof (21st October, 1880), no line of railway shall be authorized by the Dominion Parliament to be constructed south of the Canadian Pacific Railway, except such line shall run south-west, or to the westward of south-west; nor to within fifteen miles of latitude 49. And, in the establishment of any new province in the North-West Territories, provisions shall be made for continuing such prohibition after such establishment, until the expiration of said period.”

The Opposition members contended that, admitting the posi-



Sandford Fleming, C.M.G.





tion assumed by the Government, of their inability to grant such a charter, the present was an opportune moment at which to enter a solemn protest against the existing state of affairs, and to ask for remedial legislation. The debate was continued for several days, and finally Mr. Greenway's amendment was lost on the following division:—Yeas,—Wm. Winram, John Smith, E. H. G. G. Hay, Thomas Greenway, J. W. Sifton, A. W. Ross, D. H. McMillan.—7.

Nays,—Hon. Messrs. Norquay, Girard, Lariviere, Walker, Brown, Messrs. Alex. Sutherland, Thomas Carney, J. P. Alexander, D. H. Wilson, J. S. Aikins, J. A. Davidson, M. Goulet, James Cowan, Wesley Lipsett, J. A. K. Drummond, Alex. Kittson, Joseph Taillefer.—17.

“The extension of the boundaries was again brought up at the session, the Government asking for a further enlargement of the Province, as set forth in the following resolutions:—

“1. That it is the opinion of this House that it is in the interests of this Province that the boundaries thereof should be further extended:—To the west, to the 102nd meridian, to the north to the 60th parallel of north latitude, so as to contain the outlets on Hudson's Bay, and to the east on Lake Superior.

“2. That the public lands within the bounds of the Province as above defined, should be handed over to the trusteeship of the Provincial authorities, including the forests, mines, minerals, etc., for administration for the public uses of the Province.

“3. That in the settlement of the question of our eastern boundary, should it be found that such eastern boundary (when properly and legally defined), shall be at a point west of Thunder Bay, that the Executive be requested to commence negotiations with the rightful owners thereof, with a view of

acquiring such strip of land as may lie between such boundary and the meridian, passing immediately east of Port Arthur's Landing.

"4. That an humble address, etc."

The act passed by the Legislature in 1881, providing for the extension of the boundaries, defined the western boundary as commencing at the intersection of the International boundary dividing Canada from the United States, by the centre line of the road allowance between the twenty-ninth and thirtieth ranges of townships lying west of the first principal meridian; thence northerly following upon the said centre line of the said road allowance, defining the said range line on the ground across townships one to forty-six, both inclusive, to the intersection of the said centre line of the said road allowance, by the centre line of the road allowance on the twelfth base line in the said system of Dominion surveys; thence easterly along the centre line of said road allowance, to its intersection by the easterly limit of the District of Keewatin. This act was confirmed by the Dominion Parliament, except that the road allowance across townships one to forty-four was made the western boundary instead of one to forty-six. A reference to the map will show that the western boundary thus defined was an irregular line, and to make it more symmetrical, the extension to the 102nd meridian was asked for. The northern extension to Hudson's Bay was demanded, in order that the Province might have an outlet on the inland sea, to which she could charter a line of railway free from Federal interference. The same motive prompted the demand for a post on Lake Superior, and underlying both was the hope that the Dominion would recognize Manitoba's claim to the lands in the added territory, and that, in any event, she would derive the bene-

fit of an increase of income from the school lands, forming one-eighteenth of the whole area, within her enlarged boundaries.

The House prorogued on May 30th, 1882, after a large number of bills had been assented to. Among the acts of the Session were: An act to secure the building of railways, to incorporate the City of Brandon, to incorporate the Winnipeg Street Railway Company, to encourage the planting of trees, to incorporate the Red River Bridge Company, to establish a Normal School Department in connection with the Public Schools. The estimates included appropriation for education, \$40,000; bridges and ferries, \$20,000; drainage, \$50,000; administration of justice, \$25,000; building court house and jail, \$100,000; agriculture, \$10,000; charities, \$5,000. Total estimates, \$383,099.44. Revenue subsidy, \$227,153.04; sale of old court house, \$58,680; advance on school lands, \$40,000; local revenue (licenses, etc.), \$30,000; sale of reclaimed lands, \$40,000. Total, \$395,833.04.

The Dominion General Elections, held in June, 1882, were hotly contested, and resulted in the return of three Liberals and two Conservatives. The following were the results of the polling:—

## LISGAR.

A. W. Ross, Liberal,	-	-	-	760
J. C. Schultz, Conservative,	-	-	-	720
Majority for Ross				40

## MARQUETTE.

Robert Watson, Liberal,	-	-	-	1,223
Ed. McDonald, Conservative,	-	-	-	1,030
Majority for Watson				193

## PROVENCHER.

Hon. J. Royal, Conservative, - acclamation.

## SELKIRK.

Hugh M. Sutherland, Liberal, - - 1,487

Stewart Mulvey, Conservative, - - 1,064

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Majority for Sutherland - 423

## WINNIPEG.

Capt. Thos. Scott, Conservative, - - 491

Lt.-Col. W. O. Smith, " - - 73

E. G. Conklin, Liberal, - - 395

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Plurality for Scott - - 96

This was the first Dominion Election for Winnipeg, as it had formerly been included in the electoral district of Selkirk, but was created a separate constituency in 1882.

On July 5th, 1882, Hon. D. M. Walker, Attorney-General, was appointed County Judge, and Hon. Alexander M. Sutherland replaced him in the Cabinet. Lieut.-Governor Couchon's term of office expired in 1882, and he was succeeded by the Honorable J. C. Aikins, on December 2nd of the same year. In September, 1882, Hon. John C. Schultz was created Senator for Manitoba.

On November 4th, 1882, the Emerson and North-western Railway Act, The Manitoba Tramway Act, and the General Railway Act of Manitoba, were disallowed by the Governor-General in Council, on the ground that they contravened the terms of the contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and were opposed to the policy of the Dominion Government. The intelligence of this sweeping act of disallow-

ance was an unpleasant surprise to Manitoba, and created a storm of indignation among the impulsive of the population, who were either ignorant of, or chose to ignore, the "monopoly clause," as it was beginning to be called, of the C.P.R. contract. Indignation meetings were held at Emerson, Portage la Prairie, Brandon, and West Lynne, at which resolutions condemning the act of the Dominion Government were passed, and suggestions made as to the proper mode of procedure in combating the disallowance policy. Appeals to the Imperial Government was advised by some of the speakers, while others wished a special session of the Legislature called for the purpose of re-enacting the vetoed acts. A few of the more collected pointed out that the only constitutional method of overcoming the difficulty was to agitate for the abrogation of the "monopoly clause" by amicable arrangement between the Dominion Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. These were listened to with impatience, and their advice scoffed at by the majority.

In this condition of public feeling, Mr. Norquay deemed it advisable to dissolve the Legislature and appeal to the country, a course which was warmly applauded by his supporters.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### PROGRESS OF MANITOBA AND THE NORTH-WEST.

DESPITE the many formidable obstacles which stood in the way of their development, Manitoba and the North-West progressed with surprising rapidity from 1875 to 1880. The abandonment of the Dawson Road, as an immigrant route, diverted the whole stream of immigration to the United States railways. The only existing means of ingress to the country from the eastern Provinces were, in summer, by rail to Collingwood, or some other lake port, steamer to Duluth, rail to Moorehead, and steamer, *via* Red River, to Winnipeg; in winter, the route was, rail to Moorehead, and stage from there to Winnipeg. Either of these routes was inconvenient, expensive, and attended with more or less hardship.

The United States Government, and railway companies, employed every possible means to prevent the immigrants from passing through their territory. Every train had one or more immigration agents aboard, who extolled the advantages of the country through which they were passing, describing it as an earthly paradise, and told terrifying stories of Manitoba, as a land of perpetual snow, where nothing grew, excepting icicles. The immigrant was invited to stop over at any point he might wish, and visit, and judge for himself the fertility and productiveness of the soil of Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, or Dakota, and if none of these suited, he would be taken, free of cost, to Kansas, Montana, or, in fact, any state

of the Union that he expressed a desire to inspect. If the immigrant escaped these plausible gentry, he landed at Winnipeg, possibly when the roads were almost impassable from recent rains, to experience the disheartening effects of an alluvial soil, reduced to the consistency of soft soap, yet possessing the tenacity of tar, and to find that he must travel through many a mile of it before he could pick out his future home, all the land within a reasonable distance being locked up in Half-Breed and railway reserves. Many, encountering such a state of things, and remembering the voice of the charmer, which still echoed through the bewildered brain, turned back, and settled in some neighboring State or Territory of the Union. It was an unfortunate thing for the new North-West that such drawbacks existed, and retarded the growth of the country more than it is possible to realize at this date. The freight rates were enormous at that period. In 1878, the following rates ruled from St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth to Winnipeg:—1st class, 100 pounds, \$2.25; 2nd class, \$1.90; 3rd class, \$1.60; 4th class, \$1.25. Special rates on lumber, grain, live stock, etc. Car-load lots, Chicago to Winnipeg, \$325; Hamilton and Toronto to Winnipeg, \$370.

Yet, though many of the faint-hearted allowed themselves to be lured away from their native land, deceived by the specious representatives of the railway runner and land boomer, many thousands remained steadfast in their determination to establish themselves in their own broad prairies, for, in 1878, the population of the country had doubled from what it had been in 1871, and settlement was rapidly spreading westward beyond the boundary of Manitoba. Burnside, Westbourne, Gladstone, Grand Valley, Rapid City, Brandon Hills, Big Plains, Bird Tail Creek, Turtle Mountains, Fort Ellice, Touch-

wood Hills, Carlton, Prince Albert, Battleford, and Edmonton, had become the centres of prosperous settlements. In the south-west, the Boyne River, Rock Lake, Pembina Mountain, and other settlements, had sprung into existence, and nearer Winnipeg, Rockwood, Springfield, Sunnyside, Lorette, Rat River, Rosseau, Plympton, Cook's Creek, Woodlands, Balmoral, St. Laurent, and a number of others, had become the *points d'appui* of flourishing communities. At the close of 1879, farm houses and cultivated fields were in sight all along the main road for 250 miles west of Winnipeg. A little town had been built at Prince Albert, 600 miles west, and the settlement around it required four threshing machines, working constantly for six months, to thresh the wheat-crop of that year, which found ready sale on the spot at \$1.50 to \$2 per bushel.

The Hudson's Bay Company had placed steamboats on the Red River, which plied between Lower Fort Garry and Grand Rapids, at the head of Lake Winnipeg, there a four-mile tramway transported the freight across the portage, where it was loaded on other steamers and taken up the Saskatchewan as far as Edmonton. The freight rates on this line were very high. The following table, adopted in 1880, was a modification of former years:

## PASSENGER RATES.

LOWER FORT GARRY	UP.		DOWN.	
	CABIN.	DECK.	CABIN.	DECK.
To Grand Rapids - - -	\$12.00	\$ 5.00	\$12.00	\$ 5 00
The Pas ——— - - -	24.00	10.00	18.00	7.50
Cumberland - - - -	30.00	15.00	24.00	12.00
Fort a la Corne - - -	35.00	20.00	35.00	20.00
Prince Albert - - - -	50.00	25.00	40.00	20.00
Carlton - - - - -	50.00	25.00	40.00	20 00
Battleford - - - - -	60.00	30.00	50.00	25.00
Fort Pitt - - - - -	65.00	32.50	60.00	30.00
Victoria, Fort Saskatchewan, and Edmonton - - -	70.00	35.00	65.00	32.00

Cabin passengers were entitled to a berth in the cabin, but had to pay 50 cents for each meal. Deck passengers had to provide their own bedding and pay 50 cents per meal. Each passenger was allowed one hundred pounds of baggage free. Should the steamer be arrested *en route*, through accident or other cause, passengers were expected to accomplish the remainder of the journey at their own cost and in the best way they could.

#### FREIGHT RATES.

LOWER FORT GARRY	UP. FREIGHT PER POUND.	DOWN.
To Grand Rapids - - -	- $1\frac{1}{4}$ cts.	$1\frac{1}{4}$ cts.
The Pas ——— - - -	- $2\frac{1}{2}$ “	$2\frac{1}{4}$ “
Cumberland - - -	- $2\frac{3}{4}$ “	$2\frac{1}{2}$ “
Fort a la Corne - - -	- 3 “	$2\frac{1}{2}$ “
Prince Albert - - -	- $3\frac{1}{2}$ “	$2\frac{1}{2}$ “
Carlton - - -	- $3\frac{3}{4}$ “	3 “
Battleford - - -	- $4\frac{1}{2}$ “	$3\frac{1}{2}$ “
Fort Pitt - - -	- $5\frac{1}{4}$ “	4 “
Victoria - - -	- $5\frac{3}{4}$ “	$4\frac{1}{2}$ “
Fort Saskatchewan - -	- $6\frac{1}{4}$ “	5 “
Edmonton - - -	- $6\frac{1}{4}$ “	5 “

At Edmonton, a steam saw and grist mill had been built, which was kept constantly employed serving the wants of the growing settlement. During the winter of 1879, the settlers of White Fish Lake and Lac la Biche brought their grists on sleighs, 120 and 170 miles, to this mill. Prices of produce at Edmonton, in the winter of 1879-80, were:—Flour, \$8 to \$10 per sack; wheat, \$2 to \$2.25 per bushel; barley, 75c. to \$1; oats, 3c. per pound; potatoes, 75c. per bushel; onions, \$2; hay, \$2 to \$3 per load; beef, 10c. to 12c. per pound; pork, 20c. to 25c.; butter, 50c.; eggs, none. The telegraph line was completed to Edmonton in November, 1879.

Over a million acres were surveyed into quarter sections during 1879, and 1,115,075 acres were entered as homesteads

and pre-emptions, a marked increase over former years; in fact the entries of 1879 nearly equalled the entire extent homesteaded and pre-empted in the four preceding years. Stock-raising on a large scale had begun to interest capitalists. Lord Elphinstone had secured some 12,000 acres in the Riding Mountains, and was arranging to stock them with high grade cattle; and Senator Cochrane and others were contemplating the establishment of big ranches in the foot hills and slopes of the Rocky Mountains.

The trade of the country was making rapid strides. On June 30th, 1878, the year's business was stated as follows:—

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTAL.
Eastern Canada.....	\$1,374,311	\$123,527	\$1,489,138
United States.....	769,792	55,394	825 187
Great Britain.....	389,591	670,503	1,060,094
France .....	9,762		
Germany .....	566		
Holland.....	559		
Spain.....	387		
Newfoundland.....	170		
Portugal.....	158		
Italy .....	125		
	<hr/> \$2,545,421	<hr/> \$849,725	<hr/> \$3,395,146

On June 30th, 1879, Winnipeg stood ninth on the list of Canadian cities as regarded the amount of duty collected. Canadian manufactures were replacing British and United States goods in the country, and the increase of trade with the Eastern Provinces became more important every year. To show how largely the Eastern Provinces furnished goods to the North-West, it may be stated that the cargo of the steamer *Lakota*, frozen in at Pembina in the fall of 1878, was composed of 3,282 packages consigned to Winnipeg, and of these packages, 2623 came from Eastern Canada, 658 from the United States, and one from Great Britain.



The following table of imports of Canadian goods and produce for three and one-half years, will further illustrate our statement :—

For year ending June 30, 1877 .....	\$1,018,166
"      "      "      1878.....	1,374,311
"      "      "      1879.....	2,266,085
For half year ending Dec. 31, 1879.....	1,172,682

Railroad construction had made Rat Portage a depôt for supplies, and a number of miners were attracted to the little town by the rich indication of gold and silver found in the vicinity. Lumbering, boat-building, tip-car building for the railway contractors, and the erection of the Keewatin Lumbering and Manufacturing Company's large saw mills, gave employment to a large number of men ; stores and dwellings, hotels and boarding houses, were numerous, and the place became an important business centre even before railway communication was established. Selkirk East was also booming at that time, consequent on the railway construction, and her prospects were bright as the future railway capital, but her anticipations were never realized, and she retrograded to the position of a way station, from which she is never likely to emerge ; her rival, West Selkirk, having secured all the local trade of the district. Although villages were springing up in all directions, the only towns of importance, besides Winnipeg, were Portage la Prairie, Emerson, and West Lynne. Rapid City was ambitious, her citizens were organizing plans for railways which would make the embryo city a centre of great importance, but their plans failed to materialize ; although Rapid City is to-day a flourishing country town. Emerson and West Lynne were bitter rivals for supremacy in trade. Each longed for a railway, and when they attained their wish, strange

to say, their glory departed. Their positions precluded either of them ever becoming large towns. Winnipeg kept steadily advancing in wealth and prosperity. During 1878, her citizens expended \$200,000 in new buildings, although handicapped by the high price of lumber, caused by the failure of the mill men in getting their logs out of the woods during the winter.

The winter of 1877-8 was the most remarkable ever experienced in Manitoba. Instead of the usual snow and steady, severe cold weather, rain, fog, and mud prevailed. The rivers broke up early in March, and navigation opened about the middle of that month. The unusual meteorological conditions were attended by a great deal of sickness, and, far from enjoying the mild weather, the people deplored it, and longed for their regular bracing, healthful winter.

The progress of education in Manitoba and the North-West during the first ten years of their existence, was one of the most remarkable features of their development. In 1879 a new school act was passed by the Manitoba Legislature, which provided for the establishment of a more complete system of schools. Under it the Lieutenant-Governor in Council appointed a Board of Education, not exceeding 21, of whom 12 were to be Protestants and 9 Roman Catholics. Four of the former and three of the latter were to retire annually, and others to be appointed in their places. One of the Protestant members of the Board was to be Superintendent of Protestant schools, and one of the Roman Catholic members Superintendent of Roman Catholic schools, these Superintendents were also to be Secretaries of the Board. The Superintendents were to have general supervision and direction of the schools, and to present annual reports of progress to the Lieutenant-

Governor-in-Council. School trustees and inspectors were also appointed, and their duties defined. Two sections of land in every township were set apart for school purposes. In 1877, Manitoba devoted \$8,000 to education, \$10,000 in 1878, and in 1879 the grant was increased to \$18,000, and although the latter may be considered a small sum to carry on an adequate system of schools, it must be remembered that the total income of the Province was then only \$125,000. In December, 1878, there were sixty-two Protestant schools in the Province. Returns from fifty-six schools showed an attendance of 1,924 boys, and 1,809 girls, or a total of 3,733. The Mennonites returned 414 boys and 336 girls, or 750 children attending school. The Winnipeg Protestant Schools, three in number, returned 433 scholars on their rolls. When Manitoba was admitted to Confederation, two colleges were in existence—St. Boniface, Roman Catholic, and St. John's, Church of England. In 1880, there were, in addition, Manitoba College, Presbyterian; the Manitoba Wesleyan Institute, and St. John's Ladies' College. In the Territories, Emmanuel College had been established at Prince Albert by Bishop McLean. The University of Manitoba had been founded, in which all the denominations united, as far as the Faculties of Art, Law, and Medicine were concerned, the colleges retaining their original powers of conferring degrees in Theology. The University of Manitoba conferred its first degree on June 9th, 1880, when Mr. W. R. Gunn, of Manitoba, graduated as B. A. The University held its first public convocation in the City Hall, Winnipeg, on June 26th, 1881. The degree of B. A. was conferred on Messrs. Betournay and Haverty, of St. Boniface College; McLennan and Kennedy, of St. John's College; and Pulworth and Munro, of Manitoba College.

A new Board of Education was appointed in February, 1880, the following gentlemen composing it: Members of the Board of Education and members of the Protestant section of said Board when acting separately:—The Right Reverend Robert Mackay, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Rupert's Land; Rev. W. C. Pinkham, Superintendent of Education and Joint Secretary of the Board; Stewart Mulney, Rev. James Robertson, William N. Kennedy, Rev. Professor Hart, M.A.; Rev. Canon O'Meara, M.A.; Rev. J. F. German, M.A.; William Hespeler, Winnipeg; Rev. Alexander Matheson, Springfield; W. J. James, Portage la Prairie; W. B. Hall, Headingley. To be members of the Board of Education of the Province, and members of the Catholic section of said Board when acting separately:—His Grace the Most Reverend Alexander Taché, Archbishop of St. Boniface; Rev. ~~Albert~~ Lacombe, Rev. Theophile Lavoie, Edward W. Jarvis, of Winnipeg; Rev. George Dugast, Rev. A. Cherrier, Alexander Kittson, Theogene Fafard, A. A. C. Lariviere, St. Boniface. This Board of Education worked in harmony for many years, and though zealots, on both sides, raised objections from time to time, the cause of education was considered to be in competent hands by the majority. Legislation has since disturbed the placid current of educational matters, and raised a deplorable controversy which time, with its healing balm alone can remedy.

Winnipeg's progress during the years of her partial isolation from the outer world was remarkable. It was not till 1879 that she had direct railway communication, yet, in the face of every obstacle, she steadily improved along every line of advancement. In that year her churches, schools, hotels, public buildings, and private residences, would compare favorably with those of old and populous cities, while they surpassed

those of many of the larger towns in eastern Canada. The city had been built up amid many disadvantages. Her citizens were loyal and determined, and when an obstacle to the general welfare presented itself, they attacked and overcame it as one man. Their faith in the town was unbounded, despite the rumors of disaster which were wafted westward time and again, that the railway would not touch Winnipeg; that Selkirk would be the capital; that no railway bridge could be built there (natural conditions unfavorable. So said an eminent engineer); that the future metropolis would be hundreds of miles further west, and a dozen other discouraging reports and prophesies, they persisted in building it up, and expending their all on its development. It is not to be wondered at then, when the railway did come, after they had built a bridge for it at their own expense, that they allowed their enthusiasm to overflow, and indulged in a "boom," the like of which has been seldom experienced outside of the centre of some newly-discovered gold region. Those who attribute Winnipeg's present importance to the boom are entirely in error; her growth before that period of unrest and uncertainty had been a steady and healthy movement, which the boom disturbed and interrupted. A glance at the following figures will bear out the statement. Winnipeg's receipts and expenditures, from 1875 to 1879:—

1875	Receipts	- -	\$227,439*	Expenditure	- -	\$114,794
1876	"	- -	23,027	"	- -	120,694
1877	"	- -	32,015	"	- -	72,340
1878	"	- -	66,993	"	- -	56,084
1879	"	- -	93,043	"	- -	89,163

At the close of the first decade of her existence, Manitoba was divided into municipalities and school districts, and local

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\* Includes \$195,000 sale of debentures.



self-government was a well-established feature in her development. Agricultural societies were founded in each county, and creditable exhibitions of produce and live stock were held annually at different points. Few settlements were to be found without their church or resident clergyman, who conducted services in the school, or some farm house, if the church was not yet built. The Indians in the Territories were being instructed in farming, and, although they did not take kindly to the life at first, they were gradually being weaned from their nomadic habits, and taught the value of toil and its reward. Altogether, the progress of the North-West up to this period, 1880, had been satisfactory, and the country was well prepared for important events that were on the eve of transpiring, which would materially alter its conditions, and open up a new vista of progress and prosperity.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

### THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AS RE-ORGANIZED UNDER THE DEED POLL OF 1871.

IN concluding the second volume of our history of the North-West, we deem it advisable to give an account of affairs relating to the Hudson's Bay Company from the time of the Rebellion of 1869-70, down to the present. In doing this, we will not only have to retrace our steps, but we will have to anticipate events which properly belong to the next volume. We have thought it best, however, to deal with the subject fully and completely at this time, as the Company, after the Red River Rebellion, assumed the character of a trading corporation, and its functions ceased in a great measure to have any connection with the administration of affairs in the North-West. That the company, however, materially assisted the authorities in many ways, and on many occasions, in the work of organizing the machinery of government throughout the North-West, of suppressing lawlessness, and effecting satisfactory treaties with the Indian tribes, will be shewn from time to time in the course of this history. Although in its commercial and corporate capacity the company ceased to take any part in the government of the country, its great influence with a large portion of the settlers, and with the Indian tribes, was always at the service of the Dominion, for the purpose of strengthening and securing its authority; and its officers on many occasions rendered valuable aid in this respect.

In July, 1870, just one month before the entrance of Colonel Wolseley and the troops into Fort Garry, Sir Donald A. Smith presided at the last meeting of the council of officers held at Norway House. At that meeting there were present the following :

D. A. Smith,	-	-	-	President.
W. S. Christie,	-	-	-	Chief Factor.
Wm. McMurray,	-	-	-	"
R. Campbell,	-	-	-	"
Robert Hamilton,	-	-	-	"
James G. Stewart,	-	-	-	"
Bernard R. Ross,	-	-	-	Chief Trader.
Dr. Wm. Cowan,	-	-	-	"
Thomas Taylor,	-	-	-	"
Samuel McKenzie,	-	-	-	"
Joseph Fortescue,	-	-	-	"
Peter W. Bell,	-	-	-	"
Wm. H. Watt,	-	-	-	"

and the business transacted was, in several cases, of a most important character. In addition to the question of participation by the commissioned officers in the payment of £300,000 to the Company, for a surrender of its rights which is noted in a later part of this chapter, the subject of supplying liquor to the Indians was dealt with, and it was resolved that so far as the Company was concerned it would be put a stop to. It was decided that representations on the subject should be made to the Dominion Government, and when, afterwards, in October, 1870, Hon. Donald A. Smith, Judge Johnson, and Patrice Breland were appointed by Canada to act as the first Council of the North-West Territories, previous

to the formation of the Council of 1873, referred to in chapter xvii, one of the strongest recommendations made by these gentlemen to the authorities at Ottawa was on the subject of preventing the sale or supplying of intoxicants to Indians. It was also at the suggestion of Sir Donald A. Smith that Capt. Butler was sent in 1871 to report on the condition of affairs in the North-West, which in some measure resulted in the passing of the Act of 1872, to provide for the government of the North-West Territories.

As already shown, the Hudson's Bay Company were heavy losers by the Rebellion of 1869-70 as Riel did not hesitate to appropriate any goods, merchandise or property belonging to them to further his own ends and those of his followers. Not only this, but the Dominion Government was largely dependent on the Company for supplies at the outset, when taking possession of the country. The settlement of these claims was a long and tedious matter, made more so by the endeavors of prejudiced parties to show that the Hudson's Bay Company instigated and assisted the Riel Rebellion. The attempt thus made was absurd on the face of it, as the Company had everything to lose and nothing to gain by the insurrection. But it made the settlement of their claims all the more difficult to effect, and finally the Company abandoned them after much tedious correspondence and negotiation.

Throughout all the negotiations, and all the troubles arising from the desire of Canada to acquire possession of the North-West, there was much unfriendly criticism on the part of certain Canadians in regard to the Hudson's Bay Company, and its downfall was looked for, and on the part of some, no doubt, fervently desired.

Looking back, however, to the letter of Governor Dallas in

1862 to the Canadian Government, in reply to their suggestions to come to an arrangement with the Hudson's Bay Company for the opening up of the North-West, the observer of the affairs of Canada to-day cannot but be surprised with the fact that, despite the change which was then predicted as likely to lead to the extinction of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Company is still, as it then was, the most powerful trade organization in the country.

Mr. Dallas, doubtless, with the earnestness of conviction, after having referred to the opening up of the country as detrimental to the Company's interests, in consequence of the destruction of the buffalo which would ensue, then wrote :

“The obvious reasons against a partial surrender of our territories may not appear sufficiently obvious to parties not conversant with the trade of the country, but my knowledge of both, based on personal experience, and from other sources open to me, point to the conclusion that partial concessions of the districts which must necessarily be alienated, would inevitably lead to the extinction of the Company.”

The traveller upon the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Montreal to Vancouver—that stupendous system that Chief Justice Draper hoped he might not be considered visionary for contemplating as being completed within his children's time—cannot but have noticed the many beautiful stores, and the large trade interests which the Hudson's Bay Company possess throughout the country, which, instead of being, as it was in 1862, the home of the buffalo, is now settled with prosperous and contented farmers. The buffalo have all disappeared, the Penmican upon which the Company's people in the interior then largely depended for subsistence, is now unknown; the entire territory, then solely occupied by



the Hudson's Bay Company, is now traversed by the steel band of the railway, and yet the Hudson's Bay Company is not only existent, but is a greater business institution, no less prosperous than it then was.

It will be interesting to see how this state of affairs has been brought about, but it will first be necessary to revert to events of many years previous. The outcome of the coalition of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company had been an agreement with the officers of the conjoined companies, whereby the officers became practically partners with the shareholders. This agreement is known as the Deed Poll of 1834, and under it the commissioned officers of the Company were still employed at the time when the transfer of the territory to the Canadian Government took place.

The officers who had charge of the various districts in the North-West annually met in a Council for the regulation of the affairs of business for the ensuing year. Looking upon themselves as partners of the Company—they were, as shown in previous chapters, designated “Wintering Partners”—the officers felt that they were entitled to participate with the shareholders in any amount that might be received for the cession of the territorial rights of the Company. Many of them had been the first explorers of parts of the country, and they held that they were entitled to share in the real estate as well as the business profits of the Company. When, therefore, the company had come to an agreement with the colonial office for a transfer to the Canadian Government of their territorial rights, upon the payment of £300,000, the commissioned officers of the Company felt that they should receive a share of that amount.

In 1870, the council of officers, to which we have already

referred, was held at Norway House, on Lake Winnipeg, and it was decided to represent the claims of the officers to the Company in England. With this object, Mr. Smith (now Sir Donald A. Smith), who, as Governor at Fort Garry, was present at the council, was unanimously appointed as representative of the officers, and undertook the task of presenting their claims. The matter was one which necessarily attracted a great deal of attention from the shareholders, and Sir Stafford Northcote—who was then the Governor of the Company—had to preside over some troublous meetings of shareholders, who were unwilling to forego what they considered to be their property. The result of Mr. Smith's Mission, however, was, that compensation was given to the officers for the relinquishment of their claims, and the sum of £107,000 was divided amongst them, and a new agreement, called the Deed Poll of 1871, was entered into. The officers felt that to the judgment and discretion of Mr. Donald A. Smith was due the just recognition of their claims, and when he returned the following year, presented him with a valuable testimonial of their esteem.

In November, 1871, Sir Stafford Northcote, in his report to the shareholders, says :

“Since the holding of the General Court on the 28th June, the committee have been engaged in proceeding with the reorganization of the fur trade, and have entered into an agreement with the Chief Factors and Chief Traders for revoking the Deed Poll of 1834, and settling claims arising under it upon the terms sanctioned by the proprietors at the last General Court. They have also prepared the draft of a new Deed Poll, adapted to the altered circumstances of the trade.”

This may be considered as the commencement of another era

in the history of this old Company, and to the judicious management which was given to its affairs then may be attributed much of its present prosperous condition.

Mr. Donald A. Smith, in 1871, was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Company, under the new Deed Poll, and had assumed the control of affairs at Winnipeg, and in the published report of the Company, of June, 1873, we find that the Governor states "that the committee have not failed to instruct their officers to render every assistance in their power to the Canadian Government in all measures adopted, with a view to the development of the resources of the country, feeling that the interests of the Company are in this respect identical with those of the Government." That these instructions were carried out may be fully realized from contemplating the present business and position of the Company. The process of change from that of a purely Fur-trading Company, dealing almost exclusively with Indians and Esquimaux alone, to a modern store-keeping, wants of settlers, and in the institution, supplying all the cities and towns even the fashions of to-day, has been a gradual and unobtrusive one, and appears to have resulted from the adoption of the policy which was recommended in the above-mentioned report.

The Company has by no means ceased, however, to be the largest fur-trading company in the world, and their annual sales in London, held each January and March, are as important as ever, and attract, as they did formerly, buyers from all parts of the world. The posts of the Company extend from the rocky shores of Labrador to the western boundary of Canada, on the Alaskan frontier of the United States, and throughout the whole of this immense extent of country they largely control the trade of the natives. The Aborigines,

whether Chipewyan, Loucheux, Cree, Saulteaux, or Esquimaux, still look to "the Company" for their main means of support, and the Hudson's Bay Company's officer in the interior, is still, as for 225 years, the practical governor of the district under his command.

There are no fewer than 126 stations at which purely fur-trade is still carried on, while, in addition to these, there are wintering stations, or outposts, which are changed according to the circumstances and conditions of the trade. A list of the present posts is given, and it is curious to observe how few of them are named after individuals. The modesty of the explorers of this vast Dominion is demonstrated by the absence of their names from the nomenclature of the posts and stations they established:

ATHABASCA.	Fort Liard.	Cedar Lake.
Fort Chipewyan	Fort Wrigley.	Grand Rapids.
Fort Smith.	Fort Norman.	Pelican Narrows.
Fort Resolution.	Peel's River.	Rapid River.
Fond du Lac.	Fort Providence.	Lac du Brochet.
Fort Vermilion.	Fort Rae.	Deer Lake.
Fort McMurray.	Fort Good Hope.	Montreal Lake.
		Fort à la Corne,
PEACE RIVER.	ENGLISH RIVER.	
Lesser Slave Lake.	Ile a la Crosse.	EDMONTON.
Fort Dunvegan.	Portage la Loche.	Lac La Biche.
St. John's.	Green Lake.	Lac Ste. Annes.
Hudson's Hope.	Shell River.	Athabasca Landing.
Spirit River Ranch.		Victoria.
	CUMBERLAND.	Onion Lake.
MCKENZIE RIVER.	Cumberland House.	
Fort Simpson.	The Pas.	

MANITOBA.	Island Lake.	LAKE SUPERIOR.
Manitoba House.	God's Lake.	Michipicoten.
Fairford.		Montizambert.
Waterhen River.	YORK FACTORY.	Long Lake.
Shoal River.	York Factory.	Nepigon House.
Pine Creek.	Severn.	New Brunswick.
Fort Pelly.	Trout Lake.	Missanaibie.
Egg Lake.	Churchill.	
		LAKE HURON.
LAKE WINNIPEG.	ALBANY.	Biscotasing.
Fort Alexander.	Albany.	Mississaugue.
Dog Head.	English River.	Green Lake.
Beren's River.	Marten's Falls.	Naughton.
Little Grand Rapid.	Fort Hope.	Mattawagamingue.
		Flying Post.
LAC LA PLUIE.	RUPERT'S RIVER.	
Fort Frances.	Rupert's House.	TEMISCAMINGUE.
Lac Seul.	Mistassinny.	Temagamingue.
Wabigoon.	Woswonaby.	Grand Lac.
Whitefish Bay.	Nitchequon.	Abitibi.
White Dog.	Eastmain River.	Longue Pointe.
Savanne.		Metachewan.
Osnaburg.	EASTMAIN.	Bay Lake.
	Fort George.	
NORWAY HOUSE.	Whale River.	ST. MAURICE.
Norway House.		Coocococache.
Cross Lake.	MOOSE RIVER.	Weymontachingue.
Nelson River.	Moose Factory.	Kickendatch.
Poplar River.	New Post.	Manowan.
Split Lake.		
Oxford House.		



SAGUENAY.	Davis Inlet.	McLeod's Lake.
Pointe Bleue.	Nachvack.	Bear's Lake.
	Sandwich Bay.	Bear's Lake Outpost.
BERSIMIS.		Fraser Lake.
Bersimis.	UNGAVA.	
Seven Islands.	Fort Chimo.	PORT SIMPSON.
	George's River.	Port Simpson.
MINGAN.		Massett.
Mingan.	CARIBOO.	Hazelton.
Romanie.	Quesnelle.	Babines.
	Fort George.	
ESQUIMALT BAY.		CASSIAR.
Rigolet.	NEW CALEDONIA.	Dease Post.
North-West River.	Fort St. James.	

At most of these places to-day can still be found many of the customs and modes of trade of two and a quarter centuries ago. Still, as then, the Indian trade is done by barter, the "Skin" or "Made Beaver," is the medium of exchange, and the prophecy that this trade would be extinguished if the fertile belt of the North-West were opened for settlement has been refuted.

Along the line of railway, however, and wherever there is any important settlement, can be found another class of business being done by the Hudson's Bay Company. Stores which would be an ornament to the principal streets of the largest cities in the world may be seen at all the large towns in the west, and the farmer, miner, lady of fashion, or the man of business, can each be supplied with all possible wants.

Of these salesshops or stores there are thirty-one, and the following is the list:—

Baie des Pères.	Lower Fort Garry.	Rat Portage.
Battleford.	Manitou.	Shoal Lake.
Chapleau.	Morden.	Sudbury.
Calgary.	Mattawa.	Touchwood Hills.
Deloraine.	Macleod.	Vancouver.
Dauphin.	Nelson.	Vernon.
Edmonton.	Prince Albert.	Victoria.
Fort William.	Pincher Creek.	Whitewood.
Kamloops.	Portage la Prairie.	Winnipeg.
Lethbridge.	Qu'Appelle.	
Langley.	Riding Mountain.	

Thus we see that while on the one hand there is still carried on amid the almost impenetrable wilds of the far North, a business of the same kind that existed when Charles the Second was King of England, on the other hand is a trade of the most modern and progressive character, calling for all the tact and skill that the competition of the day renders necessary. This evolution is a most remarkable one, and says much for the management and discernment which was exercised at the time when the important change in the Company's affairs, to which we have just referred, was brought about. Probably no company or corporation has ever been more faithfully and zealously served. The co-operative principle which existed between the officers and the shareholders, which has been already explained, had of course a great deal of influence upon the relations of employer and employed. There was, however, a deeper principle than this that brought about this faithfulness of service—the force of example. Scotch perseverance and tenacity of purpose, English determination, were represented among the principal of the officers, for the

selection was carefully made of the lads who were sent from the Old Country to enter the service as apprentice clerks, and who all, like the French soldier who carries the baton of a field marshal in his knapsack, aspired to become commissioned officers.

After the transfer of the country to the Dominion Government, the Hudson's Bay Company, as already mentioned, ceased to be the governing institution it had hitherto been. It now became simply a private trading corporation, with a capital of £1,700,000, with an interest in one-twentieth of the land within the fertile belt, and with its trading stations scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the United States boundary to the delta of the vast McKenzie River, where it enters into the Arctic Ocean

The history of the Company from that time to the present is, however, still not devoid of interest, and we will return to that period when the new agreement was entered into with the commissioned officers. Hitherto, the only ranks had been those of Chief Factor and Chief Trader. There were now created two new grades of officers, and they were called respectively, Chief Factor, Factor, Chief Trader, and Junior Chief Trader. With the exception of not participating in the profits arising from the sale of lands, the conditions of the new agreement were practically those of the old. The effect, however, of the change was that many of the older officers having retired, the creation of more grades permitted the appointment of a number of younger men, who were able to adapt themselves to the altered circumstances of the country and the impending changes of the trade.

The published report of the Company for July, 1871, shows that a considerable loss on the trade was incurred. The report goes on to state:—

"This very unsatisfactory result is due to several causes, of which the most prominent is the loss of property during the disturbances at Red River, which has affected the accounts to the amount of about £30,000. A claim for compensation has been presented to Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, and is still under consideration, but as yet the Committee have not received any satisfactory answer to the representations which they have made upon this subject, and upon the Company's claim to interest upon the purchase money withheld by the Dominion, from the 1st December, 1869, till the 11th May, 1870."

After repeated endeavors to obtain a settlement of these claims, the Company was compelled to abandon them, and they will thus be seen to have been very substantial losers by the actions of Riel and his followers.

It is interesting to notice, in 1871, the first of Mr. D. A. Smith's régime as Chief Officer of the Company, that this is the year when the use of steamers upon the lakes and rivers of the North-West Territories was first projected. The advance in this respect since that time is remarkable. With the exception of a short journey of 100 miles from Edmonton to the Athabasca River, it is now possible to go by steam through Canadian Territory from the Atlantic border into the Arctic Ocean.

Across Lake Winnipeg to the Grand Rapids, at the south of the Saskatchewan, there are continuously plying steamers. These have succeeded the *Colville*, which was the first boat propelled by steam placed upon these waters. From Grand Rapids along the winding chain of the Saskatchewan, a distance of 1,000 miles, the *North-West*, a stern-wheel steamer of the Mississippi type, wends her way. The waters of the Sas-

katchewan, however, are somewhat treacherous, and when most needed are sometimes conspicuous by their absence, and the railway affords a more reliable means of reaching Edmonton. From Athabasca Landing, about 100 miles north of Edmonton, there is almost continuous communication, broken only by the large rapids, that it has been found impossible to surmount. The *Athabasca*, a stern-wheel steamer, plies as far as the Grand Rapids, on the Athabasca River; below that, to Fort Smith, the steamer *Grahame*, another stern-wheeler, is employed, and from that point to the mouth of the McKenzie River, the steamer *Wrigley* makes an annual trip, and carries the provisions and supplies upon which the residents of the distant country are dependent.

In 1872, a decided improvement in the results of the Company's affairs was shown, which for some time this continued. and the Company, it may be mentioned, received this year from the United States Government the balance of their claims on account of the Oregon matter.

Attention was now given to the transportation of goods from England by way of the United States, and the passing of the act by which powers were given to the Dominion Government for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, gave an impetus to trade that the Company were not slow to take advantage of in the re-organization of their business. During this year the first sales of land of the Company's Reserve at Fort Garry were made, and we find that 91 lots were disposed of for the amount of \$76,300. An agreement was also come to with the Dominion Government for the selection of the lands assigned to the Company under the Deed of Transfer. One-twentieth of each township as surveyed belonged to the Company, and to facilitate the selection, it was arranged, subject to



certain other provisions, that Sections 8 and 26 should be designated as the Hudson's Bay Company's portion; allowance, of course, being made in alternate townships for the fractional portions necessary to make the amount allotted the one-twentieth agreed upon.

During this year, Mr. James A. Grahame, an officer who had long been connected with the Company, mainly in British Columbia, and who had conducted the affairs of the Company there during the Oregon troubles, was appointed Sub-Commissioner, or Assistant to Mr. Donald A. Smith,

The Indian disturbances in the United States now caused considerable anxiety to the Company, but the steps taken by the Canadian Government, and the good-will generally felt towards the Company by the Indians, saved them from any loss. There is a circumstance related of a traveller across the plains from St. Paul to Fort Garry, whom it was attempted to dissuade from the journey, on account of the danger of attack from the marauding Sioux. He started, however, with no other protection than the Union Jack, with the letters "H. B. C." upon it, nailed to his cart. Some one has told in verse what happened when the Indians came up to him:

But when they seen that little flag  
A-stickin' on that cart,  
They jes' said, "Hudson Bay, go on ;  
Good Trader with Good heart."

Jes' this, and Injuns knowed it,  
That whar them cullers flew  
The men that lived beneath them  
Was mostly straight and true.

And here it may not be amiss to say a few words with regard to the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company towards the Indians, that had enabled so many of their officials to lead isol-

ated lives among all the different tribes of the country, with so few cases of loss of life or disturbance as have occurred during the long period they have been trading with the Indians.

Much has been said and written about the fabulous profits which in former days were supposed to have been made in Indian trading. Undoubtedly there were big prices charged, but there were also heavy expenses; however, the secret of the success of the Hudson's Bay Company's management of the Indians lay in the fairness and justice which were always exercised. The system of government was a paternal one, and it was recognized that the success and prosperity of the Indians was in the immediate interests of the Company. When competition between the rival companies had been done away with every effort was made to abolish the use of liquor among the Indians, and we may again quote from the standing Rules and Regulations of the Service as follows:

"That the Indians be treated with kindness and indulgence, and mild, conciliatory means resorted to in order to encourage industry, repress vice, and inculcate morality; that the use of spirituous liquors be gradually discontinued in the few districts in which it is still indispensable, and that the Indians be liberally supplied with the requisite necessaries, particularly with articles of ammunition, whether they have the means of paying for them or not."

As far back as 1849, although this was by no means the first assistance that had been afforded to the cause, we find the Company assisting missions in the interior for the diffusion of Christianity and civilization among the natives of the country.

This benevolent and careful treatment of the Indians has done much towards rendering easy the task of the Dominion

Government in making treaties with them, and the present government of them.

1874 saw the completion of the first steamer on the Saskatchewan. This boat was named the *Northcote*, after the Right Honorable Sir Stafford Northcote (afterwards Earl of Iddesleigh), who had been Governor of the Company at the time of the inception of the enterprise. After a long and useful career, this boat gained for itself fame, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, in running the blockade on the South Saskatchewan at Batoche during the rebellion of 1885. Riddled with bullet holes, she still, however, for some time continued to be of service, but is now no longer in commission.

A change in the English Ministry having taken place, and the Conservatives having come into power, Sir Stafford Northcote joined the Cabinet and resigned the Governorship of the Company, and that position was now filled by the Right Honorable George J. Goschen. During this year also, Mr. Donald A. Smith, owing to his parliamentary and other duties, gave up the position of Chief Commissioner so far as the control of trade matters was concerned. In this he was succeeded by Mr. James A. Grahame, but Mr. Smith still retained the management and control of the Company's land affairs, and continued the deepest interest in the welfare of the Company. The attention of the Company was being given energetically to the development of their landed interests and to the extension of their general trade, as the country was being opened up, and we find in 1875 the shareholders are advised by the Governor and Committee that "the officers are availing themselves of opportunities, as they arise, of extending the general business of the Company, the prospects of which are expected to improve with the progress of settlement and the extension

of railways." Further on, referring to the projected Canadian Pacific Railway, they state: "The construction of this latter line cannot fail to have a beneficial effect on the value of the Company's town lots at Fort Garry." It appears, therefore, to have been fully recognized that the settlement of the country and the construction of the railway could not but be of material assistance to the Company in the extension of their business, and although the depression of trade, from which almost all branches of commerce and industry were then suffering, affected them considerably, their efforts were not relaxed in helping to build up the North-West.

Negotiations with the Dominion Government for the purchase of the landed interest of the Hudson's Bay Company were about this time frequently referred to, but it was considered advisable not to continue them, and public reference to them was not deemed expedient. The affairs of the Company indeed appear to have gone on with varying success according to the condition of the times, and no events of any importance occurred until in 1879 Mr. Donald A. Smith resigned his official connection with the Company, when we learn from the public reports of the committee that in accepting his resignation, in consequence of his requiring more time to attend to his private affairs, they referred to the many important arrangements in which he had taken part, and expressed to him a sense of the fidelity which he had displayed to the general interests of all concerned. The services of Mr. Charles J. Brydges, a gentleman who had long been connected with the Intercolonial and Grand Trunk Railways, were then secured as the successor to Mr. Smith as Land Commissioner of the Company.

The railway connecting Winnipeg with the St. Paul, Min-

neapolis and Manitoba road at Pembina was now completed, and there was then direct communication by rail between Manitoba and Ontario, the result of which was the commencement of that speculation in real estate in Winnipeg and the North-West that culminated in the early part of 1882, and which was known as "the boom." The Company received and were able to return to the shareholders during this period no less than £400,000, which being applied in reduction of the subscribed capital brought the amount of it down to £1,300,000, at which it now stands.

In 1880 the return of the Liberals to power in England caused the vacation again of the Governorship of the Company. Mr. Goschen resigned the position he had for several years occupied, and was succeeded by Mr. Eden Colville, who had formerly resided in the North-West as Governor of Assiniboia, and one of his first acts was to revisit the Dominion, and enquire for himself into the changed condition of affairs. Mr. Colville's family had for generations been connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, and his father had also previously filled the position of Governor of the Company.

In 1881 the Company assisted materially in the construction of the bridges across the Red River and Assiniboine River at Main-street in Winnipeg. A company called the Red River and Assiniboine Bridge Company being formed, the Hudson's Bay Company took an interest in the enterprise to the extent of £5,000.

This year was also a memorable one in regard to old Fort Garry, as it saw its final vacation by the Hudson's Bay Company and the occupation in its stead of the present premises which stand on the corner of York and Main-streets, and comprise great retail and wholesale stores, making altogether one



of the handsomest blocks in Winnipeg, if not in the whole North-West.

The historical recollections of the old fort and its many buildings were many. Nearly every event of importance in connection with the country has been discussed or carried on within its four walls, but the resistless tide of progress demanded that sentiment and recollection should give way before the necessities of business. Many of the buildings of that historic enclosure still remain in the city of Winnipeg: the greater part of them were removed to the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, where they serve as warehouses for the Company's mill, appropriately known as the Fort Garry Mill. Some of them were sold and removed to other parts of the city, where, reclad and painted, they are not recognizable as ever having formed part of such a quaint and comparatively formidable looking place as Upper Fort Garry.

Quietly pursuing its business course through the usual ups and downs of commercial existence, no event of importance transpired so far as the Hudson's Bay Company was concerned until 1885, when the Second Rebellion of Riel, with which we deal separately, took place. It should be mentioned, however, that in the meantime, in the year 1884, the company had accepted the resignation of Mr. James A. Grahame, and had appointed Mr. Joseph Wrigley, formerly president of the Chamber of Commerce at Huddersfield, as trade commissioner of the Company.

The sudden outbreak of the Rebellion, and the battle of Duck Lake, in March, 1885, called for speedy and decisive action on the part of the Dominion Government, and they appealed to the Hudson's Bay Company to render assistance in forwarding troops to the scene of trouble. The whole resources of the

Company were promptly placed at the disposal of the Government, and as an instance of the completeness of the organization of this vast concern, it may be stated that within 48 hours from the time of receiving the request to furnish assistance, transport and provisions for the 90th (Winnipeg) Rifles were provided at Qu'Appelle station, 324 miles west of Winnipeg. When it was found, however, that more troops would be required, the resources of the company were heavily taxed, but nevertheless they continued to supply all the commissariat and transport until the whole of the 5,000 men who were eventually in the field, had been taken to and brought back from the scene of action. It was the proud boast of the Company that not a single officer in their service had personally benefited to the extent of one cent from the large sums of money that passed through their hands, which, considering some of the circumstances afterwards brought to light in connection with the Rebellion, was something to be proud of. To the promptitude and energy of the officers of the Company may be attributed much of the success in the suppression of the Rebellion and the prevention of its spreading, as was at one time much feared, among the larger tribes of Indians scattered throughout the other parts of the North-West Territories.

Although some of the Company's people—especially Mr. W. J. McLean and his family—underwent much hardship and privation in being taken prisoners by the rebels, and being compelled to accompany them for many weeks at the worst season of the year, through the wild and uninhabited country that lies to the north of the Saskatchewan, still, it is a remarkable and noteworthy fact that, though exposed to the utmost danger, not one of the Company's employés lost their

lives during the rebellion. Several of the Company's posts, however, notably those of Carlton, Green Lake, Fort Pitt, Victoria (Alberta), and Lac La Biche, were raided, and either partially or wholly destroyed. The Government, however, recognized the justice of the Company's claims for the losses they had incurred, and a settlement of them was soon effected. The amount paid by the Dominion Government was but the cost of the goods at the various points pillaged by the rebels, and the Company had to forego what they considered they were justly entitled to, viz., the profits they would have been enabled to earn had the goods not been lost and destroyed.

In 1887 the Commissioner summoned to Winnipeg for his assistance and guidance, and for considering the affairs of the Company and regulating the business generally, the Chief Factors and Factors of the Company. From the the far-off McKenzie River, from the shores of Labrador, from the pine-clad hills of Cariboo, from Hudson's Bay, and from all the furthest points of the Dominion of Canada, came together these men, who, many of them, had passed a life-long period in the service of the Company. Old friendships were renewed, many who had not seen one another for years revived old recollections together, and talked of the time when they "came out," referring to the leaving of the Old Country, and the passage in the Company's ship to York Factory. Many were the important business conferences, and much was done towards the promotion of the Company's interests, and the bringing of its affairs still further into keeping with the advancement of the times.

A pleasing incident towards the termination of this Council, and one which afforded much gratification to all concerned, was an invitation from the president of the Canadian Pacific

Railway Company to the officers assembled to take a trip over the line of the railway then recently completed. This was given in recognition of the assistance to the engineers—especially those who projected the line—which many of the officers had been able to afford. Several availed themselves of this invitation, and were enabled to realize for themselves what, in their younger days, when the canoe of Sir George Simpson from Lachine made its one annual trip to the North-West, must have seemed almost like a dream of impossibility—that one could now travel from one end of this vast Dominion of Canada to the other in six days. Death has laid its heavy hand upon many of those who were then present at this conference, which was unique, not only as to the character and experience of the men who formed it, but remarkable on account of the tremendous distances which some had traversed to be present.

The Honorable Richard Hardisty (Senator for Alberta), Lawrence Clark, and the genial Horace Belanger, men whom to know was to respect and admire, have all gone. Few have travelled through the North-West and have not known them. They had passed their lives in the Company's service, and were the fathers of the parts of the country in which they lived. Their places will be filled, a younger generation will replace these old and faithful servants, but, if the Company be as truly and honorably served in the future as it has been in the past, it cannot but receive that success it deserves. Some may look upon the former methods of the Company as slow and old-fashioned, but he who would pause and consider through what changing times, through what marvellous eras of the world's history, this Company has existed, cannot but be impressed with the regularity and ease with which its gigantic



operations were carried on, and how wonderfully the changes that have been made in its modes of business have been effected.

It will be a fitting conclusion to this chapter to record the appointment in January, 1889, of Sir Donald A. Smith, to the Governorship. Mr. Colville, his predecessor, had resigned on account of ill health, and Sir Donald succeeded to the highest position in a company which owed him a life service, during which he had done much on numerous occasions to guard its interests and the welfare of those connected with it, and his succession to the Governorship was a source of genuine gratification to all connected with the service.

Mr. C. C. Chipman was appointed Commissioner of the Company in 1891, and is the chief Executive Officer of all Departments of the Company's affairs. He is widely known throughout Canada, and his administration of the affairs of the company has been favorably commented upon, and there is every reason to hope that, despite the many necessary changes which the advancement of the age makes compulsory, the prosperity of the Company under the Governorship of Sir Donald A. Smith will continue to increase.

We will conclude with a remark of Sir Donald A. Smith's to the shareholders at the meeting held in London, in 1894:—

“ I have great pleasure in saying to you that, while you are now in your 225th year of Incorporation, never, I believe, during the whole course of that long time have you been served with more zeal and ability than you are now being served by your Commissioner, and the officers acting under his orders.”





## APPENDIX.

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1. Hudson's Bay Company's Deed of Surrender, 1869.
2. Indian Treaty, Number One.
3. Indian Treaty, Number Two.
4. The North-West Angle Treaty, Number Three.
5. Adhesion of Lac Seul Indians.
6. The Qu' Appelle Treaty, Number Four.
7. Adhesion of the Fort Ellice Saulteaux Indians.
8. Adhesion of Saulteaux and Assiniboine Indians.
9. Adhesion of Cree, Saulteaux, and Assiniboine Indians.
10. Revision of Treaties, Numbers One and Two.
11. The Lake Winnipeg Treaty, Number Five.
12. Adhesion of Saskatchewan Indians.
13. The Treaties at Forts Carleton and Pitt, Number Six.
14. The Treaty with the Blackfeet, Number Seven.
15. Charter of Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1873, to Sir  
Hugh Allan and others.





## APPENDIX.

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### No. 1.

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S DEED OF SURRENDER : 1869.

The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

To all whom these presents shall come unto, or concern, the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, send greeting.

WHEREAS the said Governor and Company were established and incorporated by their said name of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay," by letters patent granted by his late Majesty King Charles the Second, in the twenty-second year of his reign, whereby His said Majesty granted unto the said Company and their successors the trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds in whatsoever latitude they should be, that lay within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid, that were not already actually possessed by, or granted to, any of His Majesty's subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State, and that the said land should be from thenceforth reckoned and reputed as one of His Majesty's plantations of colonies in America, called Rupert's Land ; and whereby His said Majesty made and constituted the said Governor and Company, and their successors, the absolute lords and proprietors of the same territory, limits and places aforesaid, and of all the premises, saving the faith, allegiance and sovereign dominion due to His said Majesty, his heirs and successors for the same ; and granted to the said Governor and Company and their succes-

sors such rights of government and other rights, privileges and liberties, franchises, powers and authorities in Rupert's Land as therein expressed. And whereas ever since the date of the said letters patent, the said Governor and Company have exercised and enjoyed the sole right thereby granted of such trade and commerce as therein mentioned, and have exercised and enjoyed other rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers and authorities thereby granted ; and the said Governor and Company have exercised or assumed rights of government in other parts of British North America not forming part of Rupert's Land, or of Canada, or of British Columbia. And whereas, by the "British North American Act, 1867," it is (amongst other things) enacted that it shall be lawful for Her Present Majesty Queen Victoria, by and with the advice and consent of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, on address from the Houses of Parliament of Canada, to admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, or either of them, into the Union of the Dominion of Canada, on such terms and conditions as are in the address expressed, and as Her Majesty thinks fit to approve, subject to the provisions of the said Act. And whereas, by the "Rupert's Land Act, 1868," it is enacted (amongst other things) that for the purposes of that Act, the term "Rupert's Land" shall include the whole of the lands and territories held or claimed to be held by the said Governor and Company, and that it shall be competent for the said Governor and Company to surrender to Her Majesty, and for Her Majesty, by any instrument under Her Sign Manual and Signet, to accept a surrender of all or any of the lands, territories, rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers and authorities whatsoever, granted or purported to be granted by the said letters patent to the said Governor and Company within Rupert's Land, upon such terms and conditions as shall be agreed upon by and between Her Majesty and the said Governor and Company ; provided, however, that such surrender shall not be accepted by Her Majesty until the terms and conditions upon which Rupert's Land shall be admitted into the said Dominion of Canada shall have been approved of by Her Majesty, and embodied in an address to Her Majesty from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, in pursuance of the 146th section of the "British North America Act, 1867 ;" and that, upon the acceptance by Her Majesty of such surrender, all rights of government, and proprietary rights, and all other privileges, liberties, franchises, powers and authorities whatsoever, granted or purported to be granted by the said letters patent to the said Governor and Company within Rupert's Land, and which shall have been so surrendered, shall be absolutely extinguished ; provided that nothing in the said Act contained shall prevent the said Governor and Company from continuing to carry on in Rupert's Land, or elsewhere, trade and commerce. And whereas, Her said Majesty Queen Victoria, and the said Governor

and Company have agreed to terms and conditions upon which the said Governor and Company shall surrender to Her said Majesty, pursuant to the provisions in that behalf in the "Rupert's Land Act 1868," contained, all the rights of government, and other rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers and authorities, and all the lands and territories (except and subject as in the said terms and conditions expressed or mentioned), granted or purported to be granted by the said letters patent, and also all similar rights which have been exercised or assumed by the said Governor and Company in any parts of British North America not forming part of Rupert's Land, or of Canada, or of British Columbia, in order and to the intent that, after such surrender has been effected and accepted under the provisions of the last-mentioned Act, the said Rupert's Land may be admitted into the Union of the Dominion of Canada, pursuant to the hereinbefore mentioned Acts or one of them. And whereas the said terms and conditions on which it has been agreed that the said surrender is to be made by the said Governor and Company (who are in the following articles designated as the Company), to Her said Majesty, are as follows, that is to say :—

1. The Canadian Government shall pay to the Company the sum of £300,000 sterling, when Rupert's Land is transferred to the Dominion of Canada.

2. The Company to retain all the posts or stations now actually possessed and occupied by them, or their officers or agents, whether in Rupert's Land or any other part of British North America, and may within twelve months after the acceptance of the said surrender, select a block of land adjoining each of their posts or stations, within any part of British North America, not comprised in Canada and British Columbia, in conformity, except as regards the Red River territory, with a list made out by the Company and communicated to the Canadian Ministers, being the list in the annexed schedule. The actual survey is to be proceeded with, with all convenient speed.

3. The size of each block is not to exceed in the Red River territory an amount to be agreed upon between the Company and the Governor of Canada in Council.

4. So far as the configuration of the country admits, the blocks shall front the river or road by which means of access are provided, and shall be approximately in the shape of parallelograms, and of which the frontage shall not be more than half the depth.

5. The Company may, at any time within fifty years after such acceptance of the said surrender, claim in any township or district within the fertile belt in which land is set out for settlements, grants of land not exceeding one-twentieth part of land so set out, the blocks so granted to be



determined by lot, and the Company to pay a ratable share of the survey, not exceeding eight cents Canadian an acre. The Company may defer the exercise of their right of claiming their proportion of each township or district for not more than ten years after it is set out, but their claim must be limited to an allotment from the lands remaining unsold at the time they declare their intention to make it.

6. For the purpose of the last article, the fertile belt is to be bounded as follows :—On the south by the United States boundary ; on the west by the Rocky Mountains ; on the north by the northern branch of the Saskatchewan River ; on the east by Lake Winnipeg, the Lake of the Woods, and the waters connecting them.

7. If any township shall be formed abutting on the north bank of the northern branch of the Saskatchewan River, the Company may take their one-twentieth of any such township, which, for the purposes of this article, shall not extend more than five miles inland from the river, giving to the Canadian Dominion an equal quantity of the portion of land coming to them of townships established on the southern bank of the said river.

8. In laying out any public roads, canals, or other public works, through any block of land reserved to the Company, the Canadian Government may take, without compensation, such land as is necessary for the purpose, not exceeding one-twenty-fifth of the total acreage of the block ; but if the Canadian Government require any land which is actually under cultivation, which has been built upon, or which is necessary for giving the Company's servants access to any river or lake, or has a frontage to any river or lake, the said Government shall pay to the Company the fair value of the same, and shall make compensation for any injury done to the Company or their servants.

9. It is understood that the whole of the land to be appropriated within the meaning of the last preceding clause, shall be appropriated for public purposes.

10. All titles to land up to the eighth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, conferred by the Company, are to be confirmed.

11. The Company is to be at liberty to carry on its trade without hindrance in its corporate capacity ; and no exceptional tax is to be placed on the Company's land, trade, or servants, nor any import duty on goods introduced by the said Company previously to such acceptance of the said surrender.

12. Canada is to take over the materials of the electric telegraph at cost price ; such price including transport, but not including interest for money, and subject to a deduction for ascertained deterioration.

13. The Company's claim to land under an agreement of Messrs Van-koughnet and Hopkins is to be withdrawn.

14. Any claims of Indians to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement shall be disposed of by the Canadian Government in communication with the Imperial Government ; and the Company shall be relieved of all responsibility in respect of them.

And whereas the surrender hereinafter contained is intended to be made in pursuance of the agreement, and upon the terms and conditions hereinbefore stated.

Now know ye, and these presents witness, that in pursuance of the powers and provisions of the "Rupert's Land Act, 1868," and on the terms and conditions aforesaid, and also on condition of this surrender being accepted pursuant to the provisions of that Act, the said Governor and Company do hereby surrender to the Queen's Most Gracious Majesty all the rights of Government, and other rights, privileges, liberties, franchises, powers and authorities, granted, or purported to be granted, to the said Governor and Company by the said recited letters patent of His late Majesty King Charles the Second ; and also all similar rights which may have been exercised or assumed by the said Governor and Company in any parts of British North America, not forming part of Rupert's Land or of Canada, or of British Columbia, and all the lands and territories within Rupert's Land (except and subject as in the said terms and conditions mentioned) granted, or purported to be granted, to the said Governor and Company by the said letters patent. In witness whereof, the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, have hereunto caused their common seal to be affixed, the nineteenth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and sixty nine.

### THE SCHEDULE ABOVE REFERRED TO.

#### NORTHERN DEPARTMENT, RUPERT'S LAND.

DISTRICT.	POST.	ACRES OF LAND.
English River..	Isle à la Crosse ...	50
	Rapid River .....	5
	Portage La Loche.	20 (say 10 acres each end of portage)
	Green Lake .....	100
	Cold Lake.....	10
	Deer's Lake .....	5
		190 acres in English River District.

DISTRICT.	POST.	ACRES OF LAND.
Saskatchewan .....	Edmonton House .....	3,000
	Rocky Mountain House .....	500
	Fort Victoria .....	3,000
	St. Paul .....	3,000
	Fort Pitt .....	3,000
	Battle River .....	3,000
	Carlton House .....	3,000
	Fort Albert .....	3,000
	Whitefish Lake .....	500
	Lac La Biche .....	1,000
	Fort Assiniboine .....	50
	Lesser Slave Lake .....	500
	Lac Ste. Anne .....	500
	Lac La Nun .....	500
	St. Albert .....	1,000
Cumberland .....	Pigeon Lake .....	100
	Old White Mud Fort .....	50
		25,700 acres in Sas- katchewan Dist.
	Cumberland House .....	100
	Fort La Cocise .....	3,000
	Pelican Lake .....	50
	Moose Woods .....	1,000
	The Pas .....	25
	Moose Lake .....	50
	Grande Rapid Portage .....	100 (50 acres at each end of portage)
Swan River .....		4,325 acres in Cum- berland Dist.
	Fort Pelly .....	3,000
	Fort Ellice .....	3,000
	Q'Appelle Lakes .....	2,500
	Touchwood Hills .....	500
	Shoal River .....	50
	Manitobah .....	50
	Fairford .....	100
Red River .....		9,200 acres in Swan River Dist.
	Upper Fort Garry and Town of Winnipeg ..	{ Such numbers of acres as may be agreed upon between the Company and the Governor of Canada in Council.
	Lower Fort Garry (in- cluding the farm the Company now have under cultivation) ..	
	White Horse Plains ..	

DISTRICT.	POST.	ACRES OF LAND.
Manitobah Lake .....	Oak Point.....	50
Portage La Prairie .....		1,000
		1,050 acres.
Lake La Pluie .....	Fort Alexander.....	500
	Fort Frances.....	500
	Eagle's Nest.....	20
	Big Island .....	20
	Lac du Bonnet .....	20
	Rat Portage.....	50
	Shoal Lake.....	20
	Lake of the Woods ...	50
	Whitefish Lake .....	20
	English River .....	20
	Hungry Hall.....	20
	Trout Lake.....	20
	Clear Water Lake.....	20
	Sandy Point .....	20
		1,300 acres in Lac La Pluie Dist.
York.....	York Factory .....	100
	Churchill .....	10
	Severn.....	10
	Trout Lake.....	10
	Oxford.....	100
	Jackson's Bay.....	10
	God's Lake.....	10
	Island Lake .....	10
		260 acres.
Norway House .....	Norway House .....	100
	Beren's River .....	25
	Grand Rapid .....	10
	Nelson's River.....	10
		145 acres.
Total in Northern Department .....		42,170 acres.
SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT, RUPERT'S LAND.		
Albany.....	Albany Factory.....	100
	Martin's Falls .....	10
	Osnaburg .....	25
	Lac Seul.....	500
		635

DISTRICT.	POST.	ACRES OF LAND.	
East Main .....	Little Whale River .....	50	
	Great Whale River .....	50	
	Fort George .....	25	125
Moose .....	Moose Factory .....	100	
	Hannah Bay .....	10	
	Abitibi .....	10	
	New Brunswick .....	25	145
Rupert's River .....	Rupert's House .....	50	
	Mistassing .....	10	
	Temiskamay .....	10	
	Woswonaby .....	10	
	Mechiskun .....	10	
	Pike Lake .....	10	
	Nitchequou .....	10	
	Kamapiscan .....	10	120
Kinoquimisee .....	Matawaganique .....	50	
	Kuckatoosh .....	10	60
Total in Southern Department .....			1.085 acres.
MONTREAL DEPARTMENT, RUPERT'S LAND.			
Superior .....	Long Lake .....	10	
Temiscamingue .....	Kakababegino .....	10	20
Labrador .....	Fort Nascopie .....	75	
	Outposts, ditto .....	25	
	Fort Chimo (Ungava) ..	100	
	South River, Outposts ..	30	
	George's River .....	50	
	Whale River .....	30	
	North's River .....	25	
	False River .....	25	380
Total in Montreal Department .....			400 acres.
NORTHERN DEPARTMENT, NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.			
Athabasca .....	Fort Chippewyan .....	50	
	Fort Vermilion .....	500	
	Fort Dunvegan .....	50	



DISTRICT.	POST.	ACRES OF LAND.
Athabasca .....	Fort St. John's.....	20
	Forks of Athabasca River	10
	Battle River .....	5
	Fond du Lac .....	5
	Salt River .....	5
		605 acres in Athabasca Dist.
McKenzie's River.....	Fort Simpson.. ..	100
	Fort Liard .....	300
	Fort Nelson .....	200
	The Rapids .....	100
	Hay River .....	20
	Fort Resolution .....	20
	Fort Rae .....	10
	Fort du Lac .....	10
	Fort Norman.....	10
	Fort Good Hope .....	10
	Peel's River .....	10
	Lapierre's House .....	10
	Fort Halkett .....	100
		900 acres in McKenzie River Dist.

Total in North-West Territory..... 1,505 acres.

## RECAPITULATION.

	ACRES.
Northern Department, Rupert's Land.....	42,170
Southern       "       " .....	1,085
Montreal       "       " .....	400
Northern       "       North-West Territory.....	1,505
	45,160

## No. 2.

## INDIAN TREATY NUMBER ONE.

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded this third day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioner Wemyss M. Simpson, Esquire, of the one part, and the Chippewa and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described by their Chiefs, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part :

Whereas, all the Indians inhabiting the said country have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioner, been convened at the Stone Fort, otherwise called Lower Fort Garry, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty of the one part and to the said Indians of the other ; and whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioner, that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up to settlement and immigration a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrangements with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and that they may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive, year by year, from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence.

And whereas the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in Council as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's said Commissioner to name certain Chiefs and head men, who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations, and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance, by their respective bands, of such obligations as should be assumed by them the said Indians, have therefore named the following persons for that purpose, that is to say: Mis-koo-ke-new, or Red Eagle, (Henry Prince); Ka-ke-ka-penais, or Bird for Ever ; Na-sha-ke-penais, or Flying down Bird ; Na-na-wa-nana, or Centre of Bird's Tail ; Ke-wa-tay-ash, or Flying Round ; Wa-ko-wush, or Whip-poor-Will ; Oo-za-we-kwun, or Yellow Quill ; and thereupon, in open Council, the different bands have presented their respective Chiefs to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba, and of the North West Territory being present at such Council, and to the said Commissioner, as the Chiefs and head men for the purposes aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians

inhabiting the said District, hereinafter described ; and whereas the said Lieutenant-Governor and said Commissioner, then and there received and acknowledged the persons so presented as Chiefs and head men, for the purpose aforesaid ; and whereas the said Commissioner has proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians, and the same has finally been agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say :

The Chippewa and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians, and all the other Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender, and yield to Her Majesty the Queen, and her successors for ever, all the lands included within the following limits, that is to say : Beginning at the International boundary line near its junction with the Lake of the Woods, at a point due north from the centre of Roseau Lake ; thence to run due north to the centre of Roseau Lake ; thence northward to the centre of White Mouth Lake, otherwise called White Mud Lake ; thence by the middle of the lake and the middle of the river issued therefrom, to the mouth thereof in Winnipeg River ; thence by the Winnipeg River to its mouth ; thence westwardly, including all the islands near the south end of the lake across the lake to the mouth of the Drunken River ; thence westwardly, to a point on Lake Manitoba, half way between Oak Point and the mouth of Swan Creek ; thence across Lake Manitoba, on a line due west to its western shore ; thence in a straight line to the crossing of the Rapids on the Assiniboine ; thence due south to the International boundary line, and thence easterly by the said line to the place of beginning ; to have and to hold the same to Her said Majesty the Queen, and her successors for ever ; and Her Majesty the Queen, hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside and reserve for the sole and exclusive use of the Indians, the following tracts of land, that is to say : For the use of the Indians belonging to the band of which Henry Prince, otherwise called Mis koo-ke-new, is the Chief, so much of land on both sides of the Red River, beginning at the south line of St Peter's Parish, as will furnish one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families ; and for the use of the Indians of whom Na-sha-ke-penais, Na-na-wa nana, Ke-wa-tay-ash, and Wa-ko-wush, are the Chiefs, so much land on the Roseau River as will furnish one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, beginning from the mouth of the river ; and for the use of the Indians, of which Ka-ke-la-penais is the Chief, so much land on the Winnipeg River, above Fort Alexander, as will furnish one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families ; beginning at a distance of a mile or thereabout above the Fort ; and for the use of the Indians, of whom Oo-za-we-Kwun is Chief, so much land on the south and east side of the Assiniboine, about twenty miles above the Portage, as will furnish one

hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, reserving also a further tract enclosing said reserve, to comprise an equivalent to twenty-five square miles of equal breadth, to be laid out round the reserve ; it being understood, however, that if at the date of the execution of this treaty, there are any settlers within the bounds of any lands reserved by any band, Her Majesty reserves the right to deal with any such settlers, as she shall deem just, so as not to diminish the extent of land allotted to the Indians.

And with a view to show the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behavior and good conduct of her Indians, parties to this treaty, she hereby, through her Commissioner, makes them a present of three dollars for each Indian man, woman and child belonging to the bands here represented.

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made, whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it.

Within the boundary of Indian Reserves, until otherwise enacted by the proper legislative authority, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold, and all laws now in force or hereafter to be enacted to preserve Her Majesty's Indian subjects, inhabiting the reserves or living elsewhere, from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors, shall be strictly enforced.

Her Majesty's Commissioner shall, as soon as possible after the execution of this treaty, cause to be taken an accurate census of all the Indians inhabiting the district above described, distributing them in families, and shall in every year ensuing the date hereof, at some period during the month of July in each year, to be duly notified to the Indians and at or near the respective reserves, pay to each Indian family of five persons the sum of fifteen dollars Canadian currency, or in like proportion for a larger or smaller family, such payment to be made in such articles as the Indians shall require of blankets, clothing, prints (assorted colors), twine or traps, at the current cost price in Montreal, or otherwise, if Her Majesty shall deem the same desirable in the interests of Her Indian people, in cash.

And the undersigned Chiefs do hereby bind and pledge themselves and their people strictly to observe this treaty, and to maintain perpetual peace between themselves and Her Majesty's white subjects, and not to interfere with the property or in any way molest the persons of Her Majesty's white or other subjects.

In witness whereof Her Majesty's said Commissioner and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hand and seal, at the Lower Fort Garry, this day and year herein first above mentioned.

(Signed) WEMYSS M. SIMPSON, [L. S ]  
*Indian Commissioner.*

(Signed)	MIS KOO KE-NEW (or Red Eagle)	His x mark.
	(Henry Prince).	
	KA-KE-KA-PENAI8 (or Bird Forever)	" x "
	(William Pennefather).	
	NA-SHA-KE-PENAI8 (or Flying down Bird).	" x "
	NA-NA-WA-NANA (or Centre of Bird's Tail).	" x "
	KE-WE-TAY-ASH (or Flying Round).	" x "
	WA-KO-WUSH (or Whip-poor-Will).	" x "
	Oo-ZA-WE-KWUN (or Yellow Quill).	" x "

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of (the same having been first read and explained)—

(Signed) ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD,  
*Lieut.-Gov. of Manitoba and the N.-W. Territories.*  
 JAMES MCKAY, P.L.C.  
 A. G. IRVINE,  
*Major.*  
 ABRAHAM COWLEY.  
 DONALD GUNN, M.L.C.  
 THOMAS HOWARD.  
 HENRY COCHRANE.  
 JAMES MCARRISTER.  
 HUGH MCARRISTER.  
 E. ALICE ARCHIBALD.  
 HENRY BOUTHILLIER.

### No. 3.

#### INDIAN TREATY NUMBER TWO.

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded this twenty-first day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioner, Wemyss M. Simpson, Esquire, of the one part, and the Chippewa tribe of Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described by their Chiefs, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part:

Whereas all the Indians inhabiting the said country have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioner, been convened at a meet-



ing at Manitoba Post, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty of the one part, and to the said Indians of the other ; and whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioner, that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up to settlement and immigration a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the same tract, and to make a treaty and arrangement with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and that they may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence.

And whereas the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in Council as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's said Commissioner to name certain Chiefs and head men who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have thereupon named the following persons for that purpose, that is to say :

For the Swan Creek and Lake Manitoba Indians, Sou-sonse, or Little Long Ears ; for the Indians of Fairford and the neighboring localities, Mah-sah-kee-yash, or, He who flies to the bottom, and Richard Woodhouse, whose Indian name is Kee-wee-tah-quun-na-yash, or, He who flies round the feathers ; for the Indians of Waterhen River, and Crane River, and neighboring localities, Francois, or, Broken Fingers ; and for the Indians of Riding Mountains and Dauphin Lake, and the remainder of the territory hereby ceded, Mekis (the Eagle), or, Giroux. And thereupon, in open Council, the different bands have presented their respective Chiefs to His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and of the North-West Territory, being present at such Council, and to the said Commissioner, as the Chiefs and head men for the purpose aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described ; and whereas the said Lieutenant-Governor and the said Commissioner then and there received and acknowledged the persons so presented as Chiefs and head men for the purposes aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described ; and whereas the said Commissioner has proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians, and the same has finally been agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say :—

The Chippewa tribe of Indians, and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to Her Majesty the Queen, and her successors forever, all the lands included within the following limits, that is to say :—All that

tract of country lying partly to the north and partly to the west of a tract of land ceded to Her Majesty the Queen, by the Indians inhabiting the Province of Manitoba, and certain adjoining localities, under the terms of a treaty made at Lower Fort Garry, on the third day of August last past, the land now intended to be ceded and surrendered, being particularly described as follows, that is to say :—Beginning at the mouth of Winnipeg River, on the north line of the lands ceded by said treaty, thence running along the eastern shore of Lake Winnipeg, northerly as far as the mouth of Berens River ; then across said lake to its western shore at the north bank of the mouth of the Little Saskatchewan, or Dauphin River ; thence up said stream and along the northern and western shores thereof, and of St. Martin's Lake and along the north bank of the stream flowing into St. Martin's Lake from Lake Manitoba, by the general course of such stream to such last mentioned lake ; thence by the eastern and northern shores of Lake Manitoba to the mouth of the Waterhen River ; thence by the eastern and northern shores of said river up stream to the northernmost extremity of a small lake known as Waterhen Lake ; thence in a line due west to and across Lake Winnipegosis ; then in a straight line to the most northerly waters forming the source of the Shell River ; thence to a point west of the same, two miles distant from the river, measuring at right angles thereto ; thence by a line parallel with the Shell River to its mouth and then crossing the Assiniboine River and running parallel thereto and two miles distant therefrom and to the westward thereof to a point opposite Fort Ellice ; thence in a south-westerly course to the north-western point of the Moose Mountains ; thence by a line due south to the United States frontier ; thence by the frontier eastwardly to the westward line of said tract ceded by the treaty as aforesaid ; thence bounded thereby, by the west, north-west and north lines of said tract to the place of beginning at the mouth of Winnipeg River : to have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors for ever, and Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside and reserve, for the sole and exclusive use of the Indians inhabiting the said tract, the following lots of land, that is to say :

For the use of the Indians belonging to the band of which Mekis is Chief, so much land between Turtle River and Valley River on the south side of Lake Dauphin as will make one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five persons, or in the same proportion for a greater or smaller number of persons. And for the use of the Indians belonging to the band of which Francois, or Broken Fingers, is Chief, so much land on Crane River running into Lake Manitoba as will make one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five persons, or in the same proportion for a greater or smaller number of persons. And for the use of the band of Indians belonging to the bands of which Ma-sah-kee-pah and Richard Wood-

house are Chiefs, so much land on the river between Lake Manitoba and St. Martin's Lake,—known as “Fairford River,” and including the present Indian Mission grounds,—as will make one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five persons, or in the same proportion for a greater or smaller number of persons. And for the use of the Indians of whom Sousonse is Chief, so much land on the east side of Lake Manitoba to be laid off north of the creek near which a fallen elm tree now lies, and about half-way between Oak Point and Manitoba Post, so much land as will make one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five persons, or in the same proportion for a greater or smaller number of persons. Saving, nevertheless, the rights of any white or other settler now in occupation of any lands within the lines of any such reserve.

And with a view to show the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behaviour and good conduct of her Indians, parties to this treaty, she hereby, through her Commissioner, makes them a present of three dollars for each Indian—man, woman and child—belonging to the bands here represented.

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school in each reserve hereby made, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it.

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that within the boundary of Indian reserves, until otherwise enacted by the proper legislative authority, no intoxicating liquors shall be allowed to be introduced or sold; and all laws now in force or hereafter to be enacted to preserve her Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves or living elsewhere within her North-West Territories, from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors, shall be strictly enforced.

And further, that Her Majesty's Commissioner shall, as soon as possible after the execution of this treaty, cause to be taken an accurate census of all the Indians inhabiting the tract above described, distributing them in families, and shall in every year ensuing the date hereof, at some period during the month of August in each year, to be duly notified to the Indians, and at or near the respective reserves, pay to each Indian family of five persons the sum of fifteen dollars, Canadian currency, or in like proportion for a larger or smaller family; such payment to be made in such articles as the Indians shall require of blankets, clothing, prints (assorted colors), twine or traps, at the current cash price in Montreal, or otherwise, if Her Majesty shall deem the same desirable in the interest of her Indian people, in cash.

And the undersigned Chiefs, on their own behalf, and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. They promise and engage that they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law; that they will maintain peace and good order between each other

and also between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians or whites, now inhabiting, or hereafter to inhabit, any part of the said ceded tract ; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitants of such ceded tract ; or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tract, or any part thereof ; and that they will aid and assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment, any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands at Manitoba Post, this day and year above named.

(Signed),      WEMYSS M. SIMPSON,  
*Indian Commissioner.*

MEKIS.	His x Mark.
SOU-SONSE.	" x "
MA-SAH-KEE-YASH.	" x "
FRANCOIS.	" x "
RICHARD WOODHOUSE.	

Signed by the Chiefs within named in presence of the following witnesses  
(the same having been first read and explained) —

(Signed) ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD,  
*Lieut.-Gov. of Manitoba and the N.-W. Territories.*  
 JAMES MCKAY, P. C. C.  
 MOLYNEUX ST. JOHN.  
 E. A. ARCHIBALD.  
 LILY ARCHIBALD.  
 HENRY BOUTHILLIER.  
 PAUL DE LARONDE.  
 DONALD McDONALD.  
 ELIZA McDONALD.  
 ALEXANDER MUIR, SR.



## No. 4.

## THE NORTH-WEST ANGLE TREATY, NUMBER THREE.

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded this third day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by her Commissioners, the Hon. Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories ; Joseph Albert Norbert Provencher, and Simon James Dawson, of the one part ; and the Saulteaux tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part :

Whereas the Indians inhabiting the said country have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioners, been convened at a meeting at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other ;

And whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioners, that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settlement, immigration, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and that they may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence ;

And whereas the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in Council, as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's said Commissioners to name certain chiefs and head men, who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations, and sign any treaty founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians having thereupon named the following persons for that purpose, that is to say :—Kee-tak-pay-pi-nais (Rainy River), Kitihi-gay-lake (Rainy River), Note-na-qua-hung (North-West Angle), Mawe-do-penais (Rainy River), Pow-wa-sang (North-West Angle), Canda-com-igo-wininie (North-West Angle), Pa-pa-ska-gin (Rainy River), May-no-wah-tau-ways-kung (North-West Angle), Kitchi-ne-ka-be-han (Rainy River), Sah-katch-eway (Lake Seul), Muka-day-wah sin (Kettle Falls), Me-kie-



sies (Rainy Lake, Fort Francis), Oos-con-na-geist (Rainy Lake), Wah-shis-kince (Eagle Lake), Rah-kie-y-ash (Flower Lake), Go-bay (Rainy Lake), Ka-me-ti-ash (White Fish Lake), Nee-sho-tal (Rainy River) Kee-gee-go-kay (Rainy River), Sha-sha-gance (Shoal Lake), Shah-win-na-bin-ais (Shoal Lake), Ay-ash-a-wash (Buffalo Point), Pay-ah-be-wash (White Fish Bay), Rah-tay-tay-pa-o-cutch (Lake of the Woods).

And thereupon in open council the different bands having presented their Chiefs to the said Commissioners as the Chiefs and head men for the purposes aforesaid of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described.

And whereas the said Commissioners then and there received and acknowledged the persons so presented as Chiefs and head men for the purposes aforesaid of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described :

And whereas the said Commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians, and the same has been finally agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say :

The Saulteaux tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians, and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say :

Commencing at a point on the Pigeon River route where the international boundary line between the territories of Great Britain and the United States intersects the height of land separating the waters running to Lake Superior from those flowing to Lake Winnipeg, thence northerly, westerly and easterly along the height of land aforesaid, following its sinuosities, whatever their course may be, to a point at which the said height of land meets the summit of the water-shed from which the streams flow to Lake Nepigon, thence northerly and westerly, or whatever may be its course along the ridge separating the waters of the Nepigon and the Winnipeg to the height of land dividing the waters of the Albany and the Winnipeg, thence westerly and north-westerly along the height of land dividing the waters flowing to Hudson's Bay by the Albany or other rivers from those running to English River and the Winnipeg to a point on the said height of land bearing north forty-five degrees east from Fort Alexander at the mouth of the Winnipeg ; thence south forty-five degrees west to Fort Alexander at the mouth of the Winnipeg ; thence southerly along the eastern bank of the Winnipeg to the mouth of White Mouth River ; thence southerly by the line described as in that part forming the eastern boundary of the tract surrendered by the Chippewa and Swampy Cree tribes of Indians to Her Majesty on the third of August, one thou-

sand eight hundred and seventy-one, namely, by White Mouth River to White Mouth Lake and thence on a line having the general bearing of White Mouth River to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude ; thence by the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the Lake of the Woods, and from thence by the international boundary line to the place of beginning

The tract comprised within the lines above described embracing an area of fifty-five thousand square miles, be the same more or less.

To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever.

And Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for farming lands, due respect being had to lands at present cultivated by the said Indians, and also to lay aside and reserve for the benefit of the said Indians, to be administered and dealt with for them by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, in such a manner as shall seem best, other reserves of land in the said territory hereby ceded, which said reserves shall be selected and set aside where it shall be deemed most convenient and advantageous for each band or bands of Indians, by the officers of the said Government appointed for that purpose, and such selection shall be so made after conference with the Indians : Provided, however, that such reserve whether for farming or other purposes shall in nowise exceed in all one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, and such selection shall be made if possible during the course of next summer or as soon thereafter as may be found practicable, it being understood, however, that if at the time of any such selection of any reserves as aforesaid, there are any settlers within the bounds of the lands reserved by any band, Her Majesty reserves the right to deal with such settlers as she shall deem just, so as not to diminish the extent of land allotted to Indians ; and provided also that the aforesaid reserves of lands or any interest or right therein or appurtenant thereto, may be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of by the said Government for the use and benefit of the said Indians, with the consent of the Indians entitled thereto first had and obtained.

And with a view to show the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behavior and good conduct of her Indians, she hereby, through her Commissioners, makes them a present of twelve dollars for each man, woman and child belonging to the bands here represented, in extinguishment of all claims heretofore preferred.

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her Government of her Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it.

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that within the bound-

ary of Indian reserves, until otherwise determined by the Government of the Dominion of Canada, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold, and all laws now in force, or hereafter to be enacted to preserve her Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves, or living elsewhere within her North-West Territories, from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors shall be strictly enforced.

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that they, the said Indians shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by her Government of her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required or taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering or other purposes, by her said Government of the Dominion of Canada, or by any of the subjects thereof duly authorized therefor by the said Government.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and her said Indians that such sections of the reserves above indicated as may at any time be required for public works or buildings, of what nature soever, may be appropriated for that purpose by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, due compensation being made for the value of any improvements thereon.

And further, that Her Majesty's Commissioners shall, as soon as possible, after the execution of this treaty, cause to be taken an accurate census of all the Indians inhabiting the tract above described, distributing them in families, and shall in every year ensuing the date hereof at some period in each year, to be duly notified to the Indians, and at a place or places to be appointed for that purpose within the territory ceded, pay to each Indian person the sum of five dollars per head yearly.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that the sum of fifteen hundred dollars per annum shall be yearly and every year expended by Her Majesty in the purchase of ammunition, and twine for nets for the use of the said Indians.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that the following articles shall be supplied to any band of the said Indians who are now actually cultivating the soil or who shall hereafter commence to cultivate the land, that is to say—two hoes for every family actually cultivating ; also one spade per family as aforesaid ; one plough for every ten families as aforesaid ; five harrows for every twenty families as aforesaid ; one scythe for every family as aforesaid ; and also one axe and one cross-cut saw, one hand saw, one pit saw, the necessary files, one grind stone, one auger for each band, and also for each Chief for the use of his band, one chest of ordinary carpenter's tools ; also for each band, enough of wheat, barley, potatoes and oats to plant the land actually broken up

for cultivation by such band ; also for each band, one yoke of oxen, one bull and four cows ; all the aforesaid articles to be given once for all for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that each Chief, duly recognized as such, shall receive an annual salary of twenty-five dollars per annum, and each subordinate officer, not exceeding three for each band, shall receive fifteen dollars per annum ; and each such Chief and subordinate officer as aforesaid shall also receive, once in every three years, a suitable suit of clothing ; and each Chief shall receive, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable flag and medal.

And the undersigned Chiefs, on their own behalf and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. They promise and engage that they will, in all respects obey and abide by the law ; that they will maintain peace and good order between each other, and also between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians or whites, now inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit any part of the said ceded tract ; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tract, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tract or any part thereof ; and that they will aid and assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands, at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, this day and year herein first above-named.

(Signed) ALEXANDER MORRIS, [LS.]  
*Lieutenant-Governor.*

J. A. N. PROVENCHER,  
*Indian Commissioner,*

S. J. DAWSON,  
*Indian Commissioner.*

KEE-TA-KAY-PI-NAIS.	His x mark.
KITIHI-GAY-KAKE.	" x "
NO-TE-NA-QUA-HUNG.	" x "
MAWE-DO-PE-NAIS.	" x "
POW-WA-SANG.	" x "
CANDA-COM-IGO-WI-NINIE.	" x "

(Signed)		His x mark.
	PA-PA-SKA GIN.	
	MAY-NO-WAH-TAU-WAYS-KUNG.	“ x “
	KIN-CHI-NE-KA-BE-HAN.	“ x “
	SHA-KATCH-EWAY.	“ x “
	MUKA-DAY-WAH-SIN.	“ x “
	ME-KIE-SIES.	“ x “
	OOS-CON-NA-GEIST.	“ x “
	WAH-SHIS-KINCE.	“ x “
	RAH KIE-Y-ASH.	“ x “
	GO-BAY.	“ x “
	KA-ME-TI-ASH.	“ x “
	NEE-SHO-TAL.	“ x “
	KLE-JEE-GO-KAY.	“ x “
	SHA-SHA-GANCE.	“ x “
	SHAH-WIN-NA-BI-NAIS.	“ x “
	AY-ASH-A-WASH.	“ x “
	PAY-AH-BEE-WASH.	“ x “
	RAH-IAY-TAY-PA-O-CUTCH.	“ x “

Signed by the Chiefs within named in the presence of the following witnesses, the same having been first read and explained by the Honorable James McKay :—

(Signed) JAMES MCKAY.  
 MOLYNEUX ST. JOHN.  
 ROBERT PITHER.  
 CHRISTINE V. K. MORRIS,  
 CHARLES NOLIN.  
 A. McDONALD,  
*Captain Commanding escort  
 to Lieutenant-Governor.*  
 JAMES F. GRAHAM.  
 JOSEPH NOLIN.  
 A. McLEOD.  
 GEORGE MCPHERSON, Sen.  
 SEDLEY BLANCHARD.  
 W. FRED. BUCHANAN,  
 FRANK G. BECHER.  
 ALFRED CODD, M.D.  
 GORDON S. CORBAULT.  
 PIERRE LEVIELLER.  
 NICHOLAS CHATELAINE.



We hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original articles of treaty of which it purports to be a copy.

(Signed) ALEXANDER MORRIS,  
*Lieutenant-Governor.*  
 J. A. N. PROVENCHER,  
*Indian Commissioner.*  
 S. J. DAWSON,  
*Indian Commissioner.*

We having had communication of the treaty, certified copy whereof is hereto annexed, but not having been at the Councils held at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, between Her Majesty's Commissioners, and the several Indian Chiefs and others therein named, at which the articles of the said treaty were agreed upon, hereby, for ourselves and the several bands of Indians which we represent, in consideration of the provisions of the said treaty being extended to us and the said bands which we represent, transfer, surrender, and relinquish to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors, to and for the use of her Dominion of Canada, all our right, title and privilege whatsoever, which we, the said Chiefs, and the said bands which we represent, have held or enjoy, of, in, and to the territory described and fully set out in the said articles of treaty and every part thereof, to have and to hold the same unto the use of Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors for ever.

And we hereby agree to accept the several provisions, payments and reserve of the said treaty as therein stated, and solemnly promise and engage to abide by, carry out, and fulfil all the stipulations, obligations, and conditions therein contained, on the part of the said chiefs and Indians to the articles of the said treaty, as if we ourselves, and the bands which we represent, had been originally contracting parties thereto, and had been present and attached our signatures to the said treaty.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands this thirteenth day of October, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three.

For and on behalf of the Commissioners, the Honorable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, Joseph Albert Norbert Provencher, Esq., and the undersigned :

(Signed) S. J. DAWSON,  
*Commissioner.*

PAY-BA-MA-CHAS,	His x mark.
RE-BA-QUIN.	" x "
ME-TAN-SO-QUE-NE-SKANK.	" x "

Signed by S. J. Dawson, Esq., one of Her Majesty's said Commissioners, for and on behalf, and with the authority and consent of the Honorable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and J. A. N. Provencher, Esq., the remaining two Commissioners, and himself, and by the Chiefs within named on behalf of themselves and the several bands which they represent, the same and the annexed certified copy of articles of treaty having been first read and explained in the presence of the following witnesses :—

(Signed) THOS. A. P. TOWERS.  
 JOHN AITKEN.  
 A. J. McDONALD.  
 UNZZAKI.  
 JAS. LOGANOSH, His x mark.  
 PINLLSISE.

## No. 5.

## ADHESION OF LAC SEUL INDIANS.

LAC SEUL, 9th June, 1874.

We, the Chiefs and Councillors of Lac Seul, Trout and Sturgeon Lakes, subscribe and set our marks, that we and our followers will abide by the articles of the treaty made and concluded with the Indians at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, on the 3rd day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners, Hon. Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, Joseph Albert N. Provencher and Simon J. Dawson, of the one part, and the Salteaux tribes of Ojebewas Indians, inhabitants of the country, as defined by the Treaty aforesaid.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's Indian Agent and the Chiefs and Councillors have hereto set their hands at Lac Seul, on the 9th day of June, 1874.

(Signed) R. J. N. PITHER,  
*Indian Agent.*  
 JOHN CROMARTY, His x mark.  
*Chief.*  
 ACKEMENCE, " x "  
 MAINEETAINEQUIRE, " x "  
 NAH-KEE-JECKWAHP, " x "  
*Councillors.*

The whole treaty explained by R. J. N. Pither.

Witnesses :

(Signed    JAMES MCKENZIE  
             LOUIS KITTSON.  
             NICHOLAS CHATELAN,   His x mark.

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No. 6.

THE QU'APPELLE TREATY, NUMBER FOUR.

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded this fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners, the Honorable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, the Honorable David Laird, Minister of the Interior, and William Joseph Christie, Esq., of Brockville, Ontario, of the one part ; and the Cree, Saulteaux and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs and head men, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part.

Whereas, the Indians inhabiting the said territory have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioners, been convened at a meeting at Qu'Appelle Lakes, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other.

And whereas, the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioners, that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settlement, immigration, trade, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned ; and to obtain the consent thereto of Her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract ; and to make a treaty and arrange with them so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and between them and Her Majesty's other subjects ; and that her Indian people may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence.

And whereas, the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in council as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's said Commissioners to name certain Chiefs and head men who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations, and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have thereupon named the following persons for that purpose, that is to say : Ka-ki-sha-way, or Loud Voice (Qu'Appelle River) ; Pis-qua, or The Plain (Leech Lake) ; Kea-wez-auce, or The Little Boy (Leech Lake) ; Ka-kee-na-wup, or one that sits like an Eagle (Upper Qu'Appelle Lakes) ; Kus-kee-tew-mus-coo-mus qua, or Little Black Bear (Cypress Hills) ; Ka-ne-on-us-ka-tew, or one that walks on four claws (Little Touchwood Hills) ; Can-ah-ha-cha-pew, or making ready the bow (south side of the south branch of the Saskatchewan) ; Kii-si-can-ah-chuck, or Day Star (south side of the south branch of the Saskatchewan) ; Ka-wa-ca-toose, or The Poor Man (Touchwood Hills and Qu'Appelle Lakes) ; Ka-ku-wis-ta-haw, or him that flies round (towards the Cypress Hills) ; Cha-ca-chas (Qu'Appelle River) ; Wah-pii-moose-too siis, or White Calf, or Pus-coos (Qu'Appelle River) ; Gabriel Cote, or Mee-may, or the Pigeon (Fort Pelly) ;

And thereupon in open council, the different bands having presented the men of their choice to the said Commissioners as the Chiefs and head men for the purpose aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described ;

And whereas, the said Commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians, and the same has been finally agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say :

The Cree and Saulteaux tribes of Indians, and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen, and her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say :

Commencing at a point on the United States frontier due south of the north-western point of the Moose Mountains, thence due north to said point of said Mountains, thence in a north-easterly course, to a point two miles due west of Fort Ellice, thence in a line parallel with, and two miles westward, from the Assiniboine River to the mouth of the Shell River, thence parallel to the said river, and two miles distant therefrom, to its source ; thence in a straight line to a point on the western shore of Lake Winnipegosis due west from the most northern extremity of Waterhen Lake, thence east to the centre of Lake Winnipegosis, thence northwardly through the middle of the said lake (including Birch Island) to the

mouth of Red Deer River, thence westwardly and south-westwardly along and including the said Red River and its lakes, Red Deer and Etoimami, to the source of its western branch, thence in a straight line to the source of the northern branch of the Qu'Appelle, thence along and including said streams to the forks near Long Lake, thence along and including the valley of the west branch of the Qu'Appelle, thence along and including said river to the mouth of Maple Creek; thence southwardly along said creek to a point opposite the western extremity of the Cypress Hills; thence due south to the international boundary; thence east along said boundary to the place of commencement. Also all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wheresoever situated within Her Majesty's North-West Territories, or any of them, to have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever.

And Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees, through the said Commissioners, to assign reserves for said Indians, such reserves to be selected by officers of Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada appointed for that purpose, after conference with each band of the Indians, and to be of sufficient area to allow one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families.

Provided, however, that it be understood that if, at the time of the selection of any reserves as aforesaid, there are any settlers within the bounds of the lands reserved for any band, Her Majesty retains the right to deal with such settlers as she shall deem just, so as not to diminish the extent of lands allotted to the Indians: and provided further that the aforesaid reserves of land, or any part thereof, or any interest or right therein, or appurtenant thereto, may be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of by the said Government for the use and benefit of the said Indians, with the consent of the Indians entitled thereto first had and obtained; but in no wise shall the said Indians, or any of them, be entitled to sell or otherwise alienate any of the lands allotted to them as reserves.

In view of the satisfaction with which the Queen views the ready response which Her Majesty's Indian subjects have accorded to the invitation of her said Commissioners to meet them on this occasion; and also in token of their general good conduct and behaviour, she hereby, through Her Commissioners, makes the Indians of the bands here represented a present—For each Chief, of twenty-five dollars in cash, a coat, and a Queen's silver medal; for each hired man, not exceeding four in each band, fifteen dollars in cash, and a coat; and for every other man, woman and child, twelve dollars in cash; and for those here assembled some powder, shot, blankets, calicoes and other articles.

As soon as possible after the execution of this treaty, Her Majesty



shall cause a census to be taken of all the Indians inhabiting the tract hereinbefore described, and shall next year, and annually afterwards, forever cause to be paid, in cash, at some suitable season to be duly notified to the Indians, and at a place or places to be appointed for that purpose within the territory ceded; each Chief, twenty-five dollars; each head man, not exceeding four to a band, fifteen dollars; and to every other Indian, man, woman and child, five dollars per head; such payment to be made to the heads of families for those belonging thereto, unless for some special reason to be found objectionable.

Her Majesty also agrees that each Chief, and each head man, not to exceed four in each band, once in every three years during the term of their office, shall receive a suitable suit of clothing, and that yearly and every year, she will cause to be distributed among the different bands included in the limits of this treaty, powder, shot, ball and twine, in all to value of seven hundred and fifty dollars; and each Chief shall receive hereafter, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable flag.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the following articles shall be supplied to any band thereof who are now actually cultivating the soil, or who shall hereafter settle on these reserves and commence to break up the land, that is to say—two hoes, one spade, one scythe, and one axe for every family so actually cultivating; and enough seed, wheat, barley, oats and potatoes to plant such lands as they have broken up; also one plough and two harrows for every ten families so cultivating as aforesaid; and also to each Chief, for the use of his band as aforesaid, one yoke of oxen, one bull, four cows, a chest of ordinary carpenter's tools, five hand-saws, five augers, one cross-cut saw, one pit saw, the necessary files, and one grindstone; all the aforesaid articles to be given once for all, for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians.

Further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school in the reserve allotted to each band, as soon as they settle on said reserve, and are prepared for a teacher.

Further, Her Majesty agrees that within the boundary of the Indian reserves, until otherwise determined by the Government of the Dominion of Canada, no intoxicating liquors shall be allowed to be introduced or sold; and all laws now in force, or hereafter to be enacted, to preserve her Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves, or living elsewhere within the North West Territories, from the evil effects of intoxication, shall be strictly enforced.

And further, Her Majesty agrees that her said Indians shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the Government of the country, acting under the author-



(Signed)	CHAN-AH-HA-CHA-PEW.	His x mark.
	KII-SI-CAW-HA-CHUCK.	“ x “
	KA-RA-KA-TOOSE.	“ x “
	KA-KI-NIS-TA-HAW.	“ x “
	CHA-CA-CHAS.	“ x “
	WA-PII-MOOSE-TOO-SUS.	“ x “
	GABRIEL COTE, or MEE MAY.	“ x “

Signed by the Chiefs and head men within named in presence of the following witnesses, the same having been first read and explained by Charles Pratt :

(Signed) W. OSBORNE SMITH, C.M.G.,  
*Lieut.-Col., D.A.G.*  
*Commanding Dominion Forces in North-West.*

PASCAL BELAND.  
 EDWARD MCKAY.  
 CHARLES PRATT.  
 PIETRE POITRAS.  
 BAPTIST DAVIS. His x mark.  
 PIERRE DENOMME. “ x “  
 JOSEPH MCKAY.  
 DONALD McDONALD,  
 A. McDONALD.

*Capt. Prov. Batt. Infantry.*  
 G. W. W. STREET,  
*Ensign Prov. Batt. Infantry.*  
 ALFRED CODD, M.D.,  
*Surgeon Prov. Batt. Infantry.*  
 W. M. HERCHMER,  
*Captain.*

C. DE CAZES,  
*Ensign.*  
 JOSEPH POITRON.  
 M. G. DICKIESON,  
*Private Secretary of the Minister of the Interior.*

PETER LAPIERRE.  
 HELEN H. McLEAN.  
 FLORA GARRIOCH.  
 JOHN COTTON,  
*Lieutenant Canadian Artillery.*  
 JOHN ALLAN,  
*Lieutenant Prov. Batt. Infantry.*

## No 7.

## ADHESION OF THE FORT ELLICE SAULTEAUX INDIANS.

We, members of the Saulteaux tribe of Indians, having had communication of the treaty hereto annexed, made on the 15th day of September instant, between Her Majesty the Queen and the Cree and Saulteaux Indians and other Indians at Qu'Appelle Lakes, but not having been present at the councils held at the Qu'Appelle Lakes between Her Majesty's Commissioners and the several Indian Chiefs and others therein named, at which the articles of the said treaty were agreed upon, hereby for ourselves and the band which we represent, in consideration of the provisions of the said treaty being extended to us and the said band which we represent, transfer, surrender and relinquish to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors, to and for the use of her Government of her Dominion of Canada, all our right, title and privileges whatsoever which we and the said bands which were present have held or enjoy of, in, and to the territory described and fully set out in the said articles of treaty and every part thereof; also all our right, title, and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated, whether within the limit of any treaty formerly made, or hereafter to be made, with the Saulteaux tribe or any other tribe of Indians inhabiting Her Majesty's North-West Territories, or any of them, to have and to hold the same unto and to the use of her said Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors, forever.

And we hereby agree to accept the several provisions, payments and reserves of the said treaty, signed at the Qu'Appelle Lakes as therein stated, and solemnly promise, and engage to abide by, carry out and fulfil all the stipulations, obligations and conditions therein contained, on the part of the said Chiefs and Indians therein named to be observed and performed, and in all things to conform to the articles of the said treaty as if we ourselves and the band which we represent had been originally contracting parties thereto, and had been present and attached our signatures to the said treaty.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chief and head man, have hereunto subscribed and set their hands at Fort Ellice this twenty-first day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy four.

(Signed)      ALEXANDER MORRIS,  
*Lieut.-Gov N. W. Territories.*

DAVID LAIRD,  
*Indian Commissioner.*

(Signed) W. J. CHRISTIE,  
*Indian Commissioner.*  
 WA-WA-SE-CAPOW (or the man  
 proud of standing upright). His x mark.  
 OTA-MA-KOO-EWIN, (or Shapous-  
 e-tung's first son—The man  
 who stands on the earth). “ x “

Signed by the parties hereto in the presence of the undersigned witnesses,  
 the same having been first explained to the Indians by Joseph Robil-  
 lard :

(Signed) ARCH. McDONALD.  
 GEORGE FLETT.  
 A. MAXWELL.  
 DAVID ARMIT.  
 HENRY MCKAY.  
 ELLEN McDONALD.  
 MARY ARMIT.

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## No. 8.

### ADHESION OF SALTEAUX AND ASSINIBOINE INDIANS.

The members of the Saulteaux and Stoney tribes of Indians, having had communication of the treaty here annexed. made on the 15th day of September last, between Her Majesty the Queen and the Cree and Saulteaux Indians and other Indians at Qu'Appelle Lakes, but not having been present at the Councils held at the Qu'Appelle Lakes between Her Majesty's Commissioners and the several Indian Chiefs and others therein named, at which the articles of the said treaty were agreed upon, hereby for ourselves, and the bands which we represent in consideration of the provisions of the said treaty having been extended to us, and the said bands which we represent, transfer, surrender, and relinquish, to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors, to and for the use of her Government of her Dominion of Canada, all our right, title and privileges whatsoever which we and the said bands which we represent, have, hold or enjoy of, in and to the territory described and fully set out in the said articles of treaty and every part thereof : also, all our right, title and



privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated, whether within the limit of any treaty formerly made or hereafter to be made with the Saulteaux tribe or any other tribe of Indians inhabiting Her Majesty's North-West Territories, or any of them, to have and to hold the same unto and to the use of her said Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors forever.

And we hereby agree to accept the several provisions, payments and reserves of the said treaty, signed at the Qu'Appelle Lakes as therein stated, and solemnly promise and engage to abide by, carry out and fulfil all the stipulations, obligations and conditions therein contained on the part of said Chiefs and Indians therein named to be observed and performed, and in all things to conform to the articles of the said treaty as if we ourselves and the bands which we represent had been originally contracting parties thereto, and had been present and attached our signatures to the said treaty.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands at Qu'Appelle Lakes this eighth day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five.

(Signed) W. J. CHRISTIE,  
*Indian Commissioner.*  
 M. G. DICKIESON,  
*Acting Indian Commissioner.*  
 W. F. WRIGHT.  
 CHEECUCK. His x mark.

Signed by the parties hereto in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, the same having been explained to the Indians by William the Second McKay :—

(Signed) WILLIAM S. MCKAY.  
 A. McDONALD.  
 PASCAL BRELAND.  
 WILLIAM WAGNER.

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## No. 9.

## ADHESION OF CREE, SAULTEAUX AND ASSINIBOINE INDIANS.

We, members of the Cree, Saulteaux, and Stonie tribes of Indians, having had communication of the treaty hereto annexed, made on the fifteenth day of September last, between Her Majesty the Queen and the Cree and Saulteaux Indians, and other Indians at Qu'Appelle Lakes, but not having been present at the councils held at the Qu'Appelle Lakes, between Her Majesty's Commissioners and the several Indian Chiefs and others therein named, at which the articles of the said treaty were agreed upon, hereby for ourselves, and the bands which we represent in consideration of the provisions of the said treaty having been extended to us, and the said bands which we represent, transfer, surrender and relinquish, to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors, to and for the use of her Government of her Dominion of Canada, all our right, title and privileges whatsoever which we and the said bands which we represent, have, hold or enjoy of, in, and to the territory described and fully set out in the said articles of treaty and every part thereof, also, all our right, title and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated, whether within the limit of any treaty formerly made, or hereafter to be made with the Saulteaux tribe or any other tribe of Indians inhabiting Her Majesty's North-West Territories, or any of them. To have and to hold the same, unto and to the use of her said Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors forever.

And we hereby agree to accept the several provisions, payments, and reserves of the said treaty signed at Qu'Appelle Lakes as therein stated, and solemnly promise and engage to abide by, carry out, and fulfil all the stipulations, obligations, and conditions therein contained on the part of said Chiefs and Indians therein named to be observed and performed, and in all things to conform to the articles of the said treaty as if we ourselves and the bands which we represent had been originally contracting parties thereto, and had been present and attached our signatures to the said treaty.

In witness whereof Her Majesty's Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands at Qu'Appelle Lakes, this ninth day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five.

(Signed)

W. J. CHRISTIE,

*Indian Commissioner.*

M. G. DICKIESON,

*Acting Indian Commissioner.*

(Signed)	W. J. WRIGHT.	
	WAH-PEE-MAKWA,	His x mark.
	(The White Bear).	
	O'KANES,	" x "
	PAYEPOT,	" x "
	LE-CROUP-DE-PHEASANT,	" x "
	KITCHI-KAH-ME-WIN,	" x "

Signed by the parties hereto in the presence of the undersigned witnesses,  
the same having been first explained to the Indians by Charles Pratt.

(Signed) CHARLES PRATT.  
A. McDONALD.  
JOS. READER.  
PASCAL BRELAND.

## No. 10.

### REVISION OF TREATIES NUMBERS ONE AND TWO.

#### ACCEPTANCES THEREOF BY LAKE MANITOBA INDIANS AND THE OTHER BANDS.

We, the undersigned Chiefs and head men of Indian bands representing bands of Indians who were parties to the Treaties Numbers One and Two mentioned in the report of a Committee of the Queen's Privy Council of Canada above printed, having had communication thereof and fully understanding the same, assent thereto and accept the increase of annuities therein mentioned on the condition therein stated, and with the assent and approval of their several bands, it being agreed, however, with the Queen's Commissioners that the number of braves and councillors for each Chief shall be four as at present, instead of two as printed 1875. (Treaty Number Two, 23rd August, 1875.)

Representing East Manitoba or Elm Point :

(Signed)	SON-SONSE,	His x mark.
	<i>Chief.</i>	
	NA-KA-NA-WA-TANY,	" x "
	PA-PA-WE-GUN-WA-TAK,	" x "
	<i>Councillors.</i>	

## Representing Fairford Prairie :

(Signed)	MA-SAH-REE-YASH, <i>Chief.</i>	His x mark.
	DAVID MARSDEN,	" x "
	JOSEPH SUMNER, <i>Councillors.</i>	" x "

## Representing Fairford Mission :

	RICHARD WOODHOUSE, <i>Chief.</i>	His x mark.
	JOHN ANDERSON,	" x "
	JOHN THOMPSON, <i>Councillors.</i>	" x "

## Representing (formerly Crane River and now) Ebb and Flow Lake :

	OENAISE, <i>Chief.</i>	His x mark.
	BAPTISTE, (son of deceased Broken Finger),	" x "
	KA NEE-GUA-NASH, <i>Councillors.</i>	" x "

## Representing Waterhen Band :

	KA-TAH-KAK-WA-NA-YAAS, <i>Chief.</i>	His x mark.
	WA-WAH-RON-WEK-AH-PON. <i>Councillor.</i>	" x "

## Representing the Turtle and Valley Rivers, and Riding Mountain :

	KEE-SICK-KOO-WE-NIN, (in place of Mekis, dead), <i>Chief.</i>	His x mark.
	KEE-SAY-KEE-SICK, <i>Councillor.</i>	" x "
	NOS-QUASH,	" x "
	BAPTISTE, <i>Braves.</i>	" x "

## Representing the St. Peter's Band :

	MISS-KOO-KE-NEU (or Red Eagle).	" x "
	MA-TWA-KA-KE-TOOH,	His x mark.
	I-AND-EVAYWAY,	" x "
	MA-KO-ME-WE-K-M,	" x "
	AS-SHO-AH-MEY,	" x "

In presence of the following :

(Signed) ALEX. MORRIS,  
*Lieut.-Gouvernor.*  
 JAMES MCKAY.  
 JAMES F. GRAHAM.  
 ISAAC COWIE.  
 FRANCIS FIELD.  
 JOHN A. DAVIDSON.  
 CHARLES WOOD.

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We, the undersigned, Chiefs and head men of Indian bands representing bands of Indians who were parties to the Treaties Numbers One and Two, mentioned in the report of a Committee of the Queen's Privy Council of Canada, "as printed on the other side of this parchment," having had communication thereof, and fully understanding the same, assent thereto, and accept the increase of annuities therein mentioned on the condition therein stated, and with the assent and approval of their several bands, it being agreed, however, with the Queen's Commissioners, that the number of braves and councillors for each Chief shall be four, as at present, instead of two as printed, 1875.

Signed near Fort Alexander, on the Indian reserve, the twenty-third day of August, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five.

KA-KE-KE-PENOIS	His x mark.
(William Pennefather).	
JOSEPH KENT.	" x "
PETANAQUAQE	" x "
(Henry Vane).	
PETER HENDERSON.	" x "
KAY-PAYAHSINISK.	

Witnesses :

(Signed) J. A. N. PROVENCHER,  
*Indian Commissioner.*  
 J. DUBUC.  
 A. DUBUC.  
 JOS. MONKMAN,  
*Interpreter.*  
 WILLIAM LEUNT.



Signed at Broken Head River, the twenty-eighth day of August, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five.

(Signed) J. A. N. PROVENCHER,  
*Indian Commissioner.*

NASHA-KE-PE-NOIS.	His x mark.
AH-KEE-SEEK-WAS-KEMG.	" x "
NAWAY-BE-BEE-KEE-SIK.	" x "
MAY-JAH-KEE-GEE-QUAN.	" x "
PAY-SAUGA.	" x "

Witnesses :

(Signed) J. DUBUC.  
H. S. REYNOLDS.  
DANIEL DEVLIN.  
H. COOK.

Signed on the Reserve at Roseau River, eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five.

(Signed) J. A. N. PROVENCHER,  
*Indian Commissioner.*

NA-NA-WA-NA-NAN (or Centre of Bird's Tail).	His x mark
KE-WE-SAY-ASH (or Flying Round).	" x "
WA-KO-WASH (or, Whippoorwill), <i>Chiefs.</i>	" x "
OSAH-WEE-KA-KAY,	" x "
OSAYS-KOO-KOON,	" x "
SHAY-WAY-ASH,	" x "
SHE-SKE-PENSE,	" x "
MA-MEH-TAH-CUM-E-CUP,	" x "
PAH-TE-CU-WEE-NIUN,	" x "

*Councillors.*

KAK-KA-QUIN-IASH,	His x mark.
ANA-WAY-WEE-TIN,	" x "
TIBIS-QUO-QE-SICK,	" x "
WE-SHO-TA,	" x "
NAT-TEE-KEE-GET,	" x "

*Braves.*

Witness :

(Signed) JAMES F. GRAHAM.

## No. 11.

## THE LAKE WINNIPEG TREATY, NUMBER FIVE.

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded at Berens River, the twentieth day of September, and at Norway House the twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners, the Honorable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and the Honorable James McKay, of the one part, and the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described by their Chiefs, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part :

Whereas the Indians inhabiting the said country have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioners, been convened at meetings at Berens River and Norway House, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other ;

And whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioners, that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settlement, immigration, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good-will between them and Her Majesty, and that they may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence ;

And whereas, the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in council as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's said Commissioners to name certain Chiefs and head men, who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have thereupon named the following persons for that purpose, that is to say :—For the Indians within the Berens River region and their several bands :

Nah-wee-kee-sick-quah-yash, Chief ; Kah-nah-wah-kee-wee-nin and Nah-kee-quan-nay-yash, Councillors ; and Pee-wah-noo-wee-nin, of Poplar River, Councillor ; for the Indians within the Norway House region and

their several bands, David Rundle, Chief ; James Cochrane, Harry Constatag, and Charles Pisequinip, Councillors ; and Ta-pas-ta-num, or Donald William Sinclair Ross, Chief ; James Garriock and Proud McKay, Councillors ;

And thereupon in open council, the different bands having presented their Chiefs to the said Commissioners as the Chiefs and head men, for the purposes aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described ;

And whereas, the said Commissioners then and there received and acknowledged the persons so presented as Chiefs and head men, for the purposes aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described ;

And whereas, the said Commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians, and the same has been finally agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say :

The Saulteaux and Swampy Cree tribes of Indians and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say :

Commencing at the north corner or junction of Treaties Numbers One and Three, thence easterly along the boundary of Treaty Number Three to the height of land at the north-east corner of the said treaty limits, a point dividing the waters of the Albany and Winnipeg Rivers, thenec due north along the said height of land to a point intersected by the 53° of north latitude and thence north-westerly to Favourable Lake, thence following the east shore of said lake to its northern limit, thence north-westerly to the north end of Lake Winnipegosis, thence westerly to the height of land called "Robinson's Portage," thence north-westerly to the east end of Cross Lake, thence north-westerly crossing Fox's Lake, thence north-westerly to the north end of Split Lake, thence south-westerly to Pipestone Lake, on Burntwood River, thence south-westerly to the western point of John Scott's Lake, thence south-westerly to the north shore of Beaver Lake, thence south-westerly to the west end of Cumberland Lake, thence due south to the Saskatchewan River, thence due south to the north-west corner of the northern limits of Treaty Number Four, including all territory within the said limits, and all islands on all lakes within the said limits as above described, and it being also understood that in all cases where lakes form the treaty limits, ten miles from the shore of the lake should be included in the treaty ;

And also all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated in the North-West Territories, or in any other

Province or portion of Her Majesty's Dominions situated and being within the Dominion of Canada ;

The tract comprised within the lines above described embracing an area of one hundred thousand square miles be the same more or less ;

To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever.

And Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for farming lands, due respect being had to lands at present cultivated by the said Indians, and other reserves for the benefit of the said Indians to be administered and dealt with for them by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada ; provided all such reserves shall not exceed in all one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families in manner following, that is to say :—For the band of *Saulteaux* in the *Berens River* region now settled, or who may within two years settle therein, a reserve commencing at the outlet of *Berens River* into *Lake Winnipeg*, and extending along the shores of said lake and up said river, and into the interior behind said lake and river, so as to comprehend one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, a reasonable addition being, however, to be made by Her Majesty to the extent of the said reserve for the inclusion in the tract so reserved of swamps, but reserving the free navigation of the said lake and river, and free access to the shores and waters thereof for Her Majesty and all her subjects, and excepting thereout such land as may have been granted to or stipulated to be held by the *Hudson's Bay Company*, and also such land as Her Majesty or her successors may in her good pleasure see fit to grant to the mission established at or near *Berens River* by the *Methodist Church of Canada*, for a church, school-house, parsonage, burial-ground and farm, or other mission purposes ; and to the Indians residing at *Poplar River*, falling into *Lake Winnipeg* north of *Berens River*, a reserve not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres to each family of five, respecting as much as possible their present improvements ; and inasmuch as a number of the Indians now residing in and about *Norway House*, of the band of whom *David Rundle* is Chief, are desirous of removing to a locality where they can cultivate the soil, Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees to lay aside a reserve on the west side of *Lake Winnipeg*, in the vicinity of *Fisher River*, so as to give one hundred acres to each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, who shall remove to the said locality within “three years,” it being estimated that ninety families or thereabouts will remove within the said period, and that a reserve will be laid aside sufficient for that or the actual number ; and it is further agreed that those of the band who remain in the vicinity of “*Norway House*” shall retain for their own use their present gardens, buildings and improvements, until the same be departed with by the Queen's Govern-

ment, with their consent first had and obtained for their individual benefit, if any value can be realized therefor ; and with regard to the band of Wood Indians, of whom Ta-pas-ta-num, or Donald William Sinclair Ross, is Chief, a reserve at Otter Island, on the west side of Cross Lake, of one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for smaller families, reserving however to Her Majesty, her successors, and her subjects, the free navigation of all lakes and rivers, and free access to the shores thereof ; Provided, however, that Her Majesty reserves the right to deal with any settlers within the bounds of any lands reserved for any band as she shall deem fit, and also that the aforesaid reserves of land, or any interest therein, may be sold or otherwise disposed of by Her Majesty's Government for the use and benefit of the said Indians entitled thereto, with their consent first had and obtained ; and with a view to shew the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behavior and good conduct of her Indians, she hereby through her Commissioners makes them a present of five dollars for each man, woman and child belonging to the bands here represented, in extinguishment of all claims heretofore preferred ;

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it ;

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that within the boundary of Indian reserves until otherwise determined by her Government of the Dominion of Canada, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold and all laws now in force, or hereafter to be enacted to preserve her Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves or living elsewhere within her North West Territories, from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors, shall be strictly enforced ;

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians that they, the said Indians, shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by her Government of her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required or taken up for settlement mining, lumbering or other purposes by her said Government of the Dominion of Canada, or by any of the subjects thereof duly authorized therefor by the said Government ;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and her said Indians, that such sections of the reserves above indicated as may at any time be required for public works or buildings, of what nature soever may be appropriated for that purpose by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, due compensation being made for the value of any improvement thereon ;



And further, that Her Majesty's Commissioners shall, as soon as possible after the execution of this treaty, cause to be taken an accurate census of all the Indians inhabiting the tract above described, distributing them in families, and shall in every year ensuing the date hereof, at some period in each year, to be duly notified to the Indians, and at a place or places to be appointed for that purpose within the territory ceded, pay to each Indian person the sum of five dollars per head yearly ;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the sum of five hundred dollars per annum shall be yearly and every year expended by Her Majesty in the purchase of ammunition and twine for nets for the use of the said Indians, in manner following, that is to say ; in the reasonable discretion as regards the distribution thereof among the Indians inhabiting the several reserves or otherwise included herein, of Her Majesty's Indian Agent having the supervision of the treaty ;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the following articles shall be supplied to any band of the said Indians who are now cultivating the soil, or who shall hereafter commence to cultivate the land, that is to say :—Two hoes for every family actually cultivating ; also one spade per family as aforesaid ; one plough for every ten families as aforesaid ; five harrows for every twenty families as aforesaid ; one scythe for every family as aforesaid, and also one axe ; and also one cross-cut saw, one hand-saw, one pit-saw, the necessary files, one grindstone and one auger for each band ; and also for each Chief for the use of his band, one chest of ordinary carpenter's tools ; also, for each band, enough of wheat, barley, potatoes and oats to plant the land actually broken up for cultivation by such band ; also, for each band : one yoke of oxen, one bull, and four cows : all the aforesaid articles to be given *once for all* for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that each Chief, duly recognized as such, shall receive an annual salary of twenty-five dollars per annum, and each subordinate officer, not exceeding three for each band, shall receive fifteen dollars per annum ; and each such Chief and subordinate officer as aforesaid shall also receive, once every three years, a suitable suit of clothing ; and each Chief shall receive, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable flag and medal.

And the undersigned Chiefs, on their own behalf, and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects to Her Majesty the Queen. They promise and engage and they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law, and they will maintain peace and good order between each other, and also between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians

or whites, now inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit any part of the said ceded tracts ; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tracts, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tracts or any part thereof : and that they will aid and assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands at Berens River, this twentieth day of September, A.D. 1875, and at Norway House, on the twenty-fourth day of the month and year herein first above named.

(Signed) ALEXANDER MORRIS, [L.S.]  
*Lieut.-Governor.*

JAMES MCKAY, [L.S.]

NAH WEE-KEE-SICK-QUAH-YASH His x mark.  
(otherwise Jacob Berens),  
*Chief.*

KAH-WAH-NAH-KEE WEE NIN, " x "  
(otherwise Antoine Gouin),

NAH-KEE QUAN-NAY-YASH, " x "

PEE-WAH-ROO-WEE-NIN, " x "  
*Councillors.*

Signed by the Chiefs within named in presence of the following witnesses, the same having been first read and explained by the Honorable James McKay :

(Signed) THOMAS HOWARD.  
A. G. JACKES, M.D.  
CHRISTINE MORRIS.  
E. C. MORRIS.  
ELIZABETH YOUNG.  
EGERTON RYERSON YOUNG.  
WILLIAM MCKAY.  
JOHN MCKAY.

Signed at Norway House by the Chiefs and Councillors hereunto subscribing in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, the same having been first read and explained, by the Honorable James McKay :

(Signed) ALEXANDER MORRIS [L.S.]  
*Lieut.-Governor,*

(Signed)	JAMES MCKAY	[L.S.]
	DAVID RUNDLE,	
	<i>Chief.</i>	
	JAMES COCHRANE,	His x mark.
	HARRY CONSTATAG,	" x "
	CHARLES PISEQUINIP,	" x "
	<i>Councillors.</i>	
	TA-PAS-TA-NUM,	" x "
	(or Donald William Sinclair Ross),	
	<i>Chief.</i>	
	GEORGE GARRIOCK,	
	PROUD MCKAY,	" x "
	<i>Councillors.</i>	

Witnesses :

(Signed) RODERICK ROSS.  
JOHN H. RUTTAN,  
*Methodist Minister.*  
O. GERMAN,  
*Methodist Minister.*  
D. C. MCTAVISH,  
ALEXANDER SINCLAIR.  
L. C. MCTAVISH.  
CHRISTINE V. K. MORRIS.  
E. C. MORRIS.  
A. G. JACKES, M.D.  
THOMAS HOWARD.

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No. 12.

ADHESION OF SASKATCHEWAN INDIANS.

We the band of the Saulteaux tribe of Indians, residing at the mouth of the Saskatchewan River, on both sides thereof, having had communication of the foregoing treaty, hereby, and in consideration of the provisions of

the said treaty being extended to us, transfer, surrender, and relinquish to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors, to and for the use of the Government of Canada, all our right, title and privileges whatsoever, which we have or enjoy in the territory described in the said treaty, and every part thereof, to have and to hold to the use of Her Majesty the Queen, and her heirs and successors forever.

And Her Majesty agrees, through the said Commissioners, to assign a reserve of sufficient area to allow one hundred and sixty acres to each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families—such reserves to be laid off and surveyed next year, on the south side of the River Saskatchewan.

After having regard to the importance of the land where the said Indians are now settled, in respect of the purposes of the navigation of the said river, and transport in connection therewith, and otherwise, and in view of the fact that many of the said Indians have now houses and gardens on the other side of the river, and elsewhere, which they will abandon, Her Majesty agrees, through her said Commissioners, to grant a sum of five hundred dollars to the said band, to be paid in equitable proportions to such of them as have houses, to assist them in removing their houses to the said reserve, or building others. And the said Indians represented herein by their Chief and Councillors, presented as such by the band, do hereby agree to accept the several provisions, payments, and other benefits as stated in the said treaty, and solemnly promise and engage to abide by, carry out and fulfil all the stipulations, obligations, and conditions therein contained, on the part of the said Chiefs and Indians therein named, to be observed and performed, and in all things to conform to the articles of the said treaty as if we ourselves had been originally contracting parties thereto.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chief and Councillors have hereunto subscribed and set their hands, at the Grand Rapids this twenty-seventh day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five.

(Signed) ALEXANDER MORRIS, [L.S.]  
*Lieut.-Governor.*

JAMES MCKAY. [L.S.]

PETER BEARDY, His x mark.  
*Chief.*

JOSEPH ATKINSON, " x "

ROBERT SANDERSON, " x "  
*Councillors.*

Signed by the parties in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, the same having been first explained to the Indians by the Honorable James McKay :

(Signed) THOMAS HOWARD.  
 RODERICK ROSS.  
 E. C. MORRIS.  
 A. G. JACKES, M.D.  
 ALEXANDER MATHESON.  
 JOSEPH HOUSTON.  
 CHRISTINE V. K. MORRIS.

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*Memorandum.*

The Queen's Indian Commissioners having met Thickfoot and a portion of the Islands band of Indians at Wapang or Dog Head Island, on the twenty-eighth day of September, A.D. 1875, request him to notify the Island Indians and those of Jack Head Point, to meet at Wapang, an Indian agent next summer, to receive payments under the treaty which they have made with the Indians of Norway House, Berens River, Grand Rapids, and Lake Winnipeg, and in which they are included, at a time of which they will be notified, and to be prepared then to designate their Chief and two Councillors. The Commissioners have agreed to give some of the Norway House Indians a reserve at Fisher Creek, and they will give land to the Island Indians at the same place.

Given at Wapang, this 28th day of September, A.D. 1875, under our hands.

ALEXANDER MORRIS,  
*Lieut.-Governor.*

JAMES MCKAY.

I accept payments under the treaty for myself and those who may adhere to me, and accept the same and all its provisions, as a principal Indian, and agree to notify the Indians as above written.

Wapang, September 28th, 1875.

(Signed) THICKFOOT. His x mark.

Witness :

(Signed) THOMAS HOWARD.  
 RODERICK ROSS.



NOTE.—In 1876, Messrs. Howard and Reid obtained the adhesions to the Winnipeg Treaty of the Indians of the Dog Head, Bloodvein River, Big Island, and Jack Fish Head bands on Lake Winnipeg, and of the Island and Grand Rapids of the Berens River band, and of the Pas, Cumberland and Moose Lake bands on the Saskatchewan River.

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No. 13.

## THE TREATIES AT FORTS CARLTON AND PITT, NUMBER SIX.

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded near Carlton, on the twenty-third day of August, and on the twenty-eighth day of said month, respectively, and near Fort Pitt on the ninth day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners, the Honorable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and the Honorable James McKay and the Honorable William Joseph Christie, of the one part, and the Plain and the Wood Cree Tribes of Indians, and the other tribes of Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part.

Whereas the Indians inhabiting the said country have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioners, been convened at meetings at Fort Carlton, Fort Pitt and Battle River, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other :

And whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioners that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settlement, immigration and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country, bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and that they may know and be sure of what allowance they

are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence ;

And whereas the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in council as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's Commissioners to name certain Chiefs and head men, who should be authorized, on their behalf, to conduct such negotiations and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have thereupon named for that purpose, that is to say :— representing the Indians who make the treaty at Carlton, the several Chiefs and Councillors who have subscribed hereto, and representing the Indians who make the treaty at Fort Pitt, the several Chiefs and Councillors who have subscribed hereto ;

And thereupon, in open council, the different bands having represented their Chiefs to the said Commissioners as the Chiefs and head men, for the purposes aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described ;

And whereas the said Commissioners then and there received and acknowledged the persons so represented, as Chiefs and head men, for the purposes aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described ;

And whereas the said Commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians, and the same has been finally agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say :

The Plain and Wood Cree Tribes of Indians, and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada for Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever, to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say :

Commencing at the mouth of the river emptying into the north-west angle of Cumberland Lake, thence westerly up the said river to the source, thence on a straight line in a westerly direction to the head of Green Lake, thence northerly to the elbow in the Beaver River, thence down the said river northerly to a point twenty miles from the said elbow ; thence in a westerly direction, keeping on a line generally parallel with the said Beaver River (above the elbow), and about twenty miles distance therefrom, to the source of the said river ; thence northerly to the north-easterly point of the south shore of Red Deer Lake, continuing westerly along the said shore to the western limit thereof, and thence due west to the Athabaska River, thence up the said river, against the stream, to the Jasper House, in the Rocky Mountains ; thence on a course south-eastwardly, following the easterly range of the Mountains, to the

source of the main branch of the Red Deer River ; thence down the said river, with the stream, to the junction therewith of the outlet of the river, being the outlet of the Buffalo Lake ; thence due east twenty miles ; thence on a straight line south eastwardly to the mouth of the said Red Deer River on the South Branch of the Saskatchewan River : thence eastwardly and northwardly, following on the boundaries of the tracts conceded by the several Treaties numbered Four and Five, to the place of beginning ;

And also all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever, to all other lands, wherever situated, in the North-West Territories, or in any other Province or portion of Her Majesty's Dominions, situated and being within the Dominion of Canada ;

The tract comprised within the lines above described, embracing an area of one hundred and twenty-one thousand square miles, be the same more or less ;

To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever ;

And Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for farming lands, due respect being had to lands at present cultivated by the said Indians, and other reserves for the benefit of the said Indians, to be administered and dealt with for them by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, provided all such reserves shall not exceed in all one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, in manner following, that is to say :—

That the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs shall depute and send a suitable person to determine and set apart the reserves for each band, after consulting with the Indians thereof as to the locality which may be found to be most suitable for them ;

Provided, however, that Her Majesty reserves the right to deal with any settlers within the bounds of any lands reserved for any band as she shall deem fit, and also that the aforesaid reserves of land or any interest therein may be sold or otherwise disposed of by Her Majesty's Government for the use and benefit of the said Indians entitled thereto, with their consent first had and obtained ; and with a view to show the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behavior and good conduct of her Indians, she hereby, through her Commissioners, makes them a present of twelve dollars for each man, woman and child belonging to the bands here represented, in extinguishment of all claims heretofore preferred ;

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made, as to her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it ;

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians that within the bound ary of Indian reserves, until otherwise determined by her Government of the Dominion of Canada, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold, and all laws now in force or hereafter to be enacted to preserve her Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves or living elsewhere within her North-West Territories from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors, shall be strictly enforced ;

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians that they, the said Indians, shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by her Government of her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required or taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering or other purposes by her said Government of the Dominion of Canada, or by any of the subjects thereof, duly authorized therefor, by the said Government ;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and her said Indians, that such sections of the reserves above indicated as may at any time be required for public works or buildings of what nature soever, may be appropriated for that purpose by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, due compensation being made for the value of any improvements thereon ;

And further, that Her Majesty's Commissioners shall, as soon as possible after the execution of this treaty, cause to be taken, an accurate census of all the Indians inhabiting the tract above described, distributing them in families, and shall in every year ensuing the date hereof, at some period in each year, to be duly notified to the Indians, and at a place or places to be appointed for that purpose, within the territories ceded, pay to each Indian person the sum of five dollars per head yearly ;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the sum of fifteen hundred dollars per annum shall be yearly and every year expended by Her Majesty in the purchase of ammunition and twine for nets for the use of the said Indians, in manner following, that is to say :— In the reasonable discretion as regards the distribution thereof, among the Indians inhabiting the several reserves, or otherwise included herein, of Her Majesty's Indian Agent having the supervision of this treaty ;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the following articles shall be supplied to any band of the said Indians who are now cultivating the soil, or who shall hereafter commence to cultivate the land, that is to say :—Four hoes for every family actually cultivating, also two spades per family as aforesaid ; one plough for every three families as aforesaid, one harrow for every three families as aforesaid ; two scythes, and one whetstone and two hayforks and two reaping-hooks



for every family as aforesaid ; and also two axes, and also one cross-cut saw, and also one hand-saw, one pit-saw, the necessary files, one grindstone and one auger for each band ; and also for each Chief, for the use of his band, one chest of ordinary carpenter's tools ; also for each band, enough of wheat, barley, potatoes, and oats to plant the land actually broken up for cultivation by such band ; also for each band four oxen, one bull and six cows, also one boar and two sows, and one handmill when any band shall raise sufficient grain therefor ; all the aforesaid articles to be given *once for all* for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians ;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians. that each Chief, duly recognized as such, shall receive an annual salary of twenty-five dollars per annum ; and each subordinate officer, not exceeding four for each band, shall receive fifteen dollars per annum ; and each such Chief and subordinate officer as aforesaid, shall also receive, once every three years, a suitable suit of clothing, and each Chief shall receive, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable flag and medal, and also, as soon as convenient, one horse, harness and waggon ;

That in the event hereafter of the Indians comprised within this treaty being overtaken by any pestilence, or by a general famine, the Queen, on being satisfied and certified thereof by her Indian Agent or Agents, will grant to the Indians assistance of such character and to such extent as her Chief Superintendent of Indian affairs shall deem necessary and sufficient to relieve the Indians from the calamity that shall have befallen them ;

That during the next three years, after two or more of the reserves hereby agreed to be set apart to the Indians, shall have been agreed upon and surveyed, there shall be granted to the Indians included under the Chiefs adhering to the treaty at Carlton, each spring, the sum of one thousand dollars to be expended for them by Her Majesty's Indian Agents, in the purchase of provisions for the use of such of the band as are actually settled on the reserves and are engaged in cultivating the soil, to assist them in such cultivation ;

That a medicine chest shall be kept at the house of each Indian Agent, for the use and benefit of the Indians, at the discretion of such agent ;

That with regard to the Indians included under the Chiefs adhering to the treaty at Fort Pitt, and to those under Chiefs within the treaty limits who may hereafter give their adhesion hereto (exclusively, however, of the Indians of the Carlton Region) there shall, during three years, after two or more reserves shall have been agreed upon and surveyed, be distributed each spring among the bands cultivating the soil on such reserves, by Her Majesty's Chief Indian Agent for this treaty in his discretion, a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, in the purchase of provisions for the use of such members of the band as are actually settled on the reserves and



engaged in the cultivation of the soil, to assist and encourage them in such cultivation ;

That, in lieu of waggons, if they desire it, and declare their option to that effect, there shall be given to each of the Chiefs adhering hereto, at Fort Pit or elsewhere hereafter (exclusively of those in the Carlton District) in recognition of this treaty, so soon as the same can be conveniently transported, two carts, with iron bushings and tires ;

And the undersigned Chiefs, on their behalf, and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves, as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen ;

They promise and engage that they will in all respects obey and abide by the law, and they will maintain peace and good order between each other, and also between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians or whites, now inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit any part of the said ceded tracts, and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tracts, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tracts or any part thereof : and that they will aid and assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

In witness whereof. Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs, have hereunto subscribed and set their hands, at or near Fort Carlton, on the day and year aforesaid, and near Fort Pitt on the day above aforesaid.

(Signed) ALEXANDER MORRIS,  
*Lieut.-Governor N.-W.T.*

JAMES MCKAY,  
W. J. CHRISTIE,  
*Indian Commissioners.*

MIST-OW-AS-IS,	His x mark.
AH-TUK-UK-KOOP,	" x "
<i>Head Chiefs of the Carlton</i>	
<i>Indians.</i>	

PRE-YAHN-KAH-NIHK-OO-SIT,	" x "
AH-YAH-TUS-KUM-1K-IM-UM,	" x "
KEE-TOO-WA-HAN,	" x "
CHA-KAS-TA-PAY-SIN,	" x "
JOHN SMITH,	" x "
JAMES SMITH,	" x "

(Signed)	CHIP-EE-WAY-AN, <i>Chiefs.</i>	His x mark.
	MASSAN,	" x "
	PIERRE CADIEN,	" x "
	Oo-YAH-TIK WAH-PAHN,	" x "
	MAHS-KEE-TE TIM-UN,	" x "
	<i>Councillors of Mist-ow-as is.</i>	
	SAH-SAH-KOOM-OOS,	" x "
	BENJAMIN,	" x "
	MEE-NOW-AH-CHAHK-WAY,	" x "
	KEE-SIK-OW-ASIS,	" x "
	<i>Councillors of Ak-tuk-uk koop.</i>	
	PEE-TOOK-AH-HAN-UP-EE-GIN-EW,	" x "
	PEE-AY-CHEW,	" x "
	TAH-WAH-PISK-EE-KAHP-POW,	" x "
	AHS KOOS.	" x "
	<i>Councillors of Pee-yahn-kah-nihk-oo-sit.</i>	
	PET-E QUA-CAY,	" x "
	JEAN BAPTISTE,	" x "
	ISIDORE WOLFE,	" x "
	KEE-KOO-HOOS,	" x "
	<i>Councillors of Kee-too-wa-han.</i>	
	OO-SAHN-ASKU-NUKIP,	" x "
	YAW-YAW-LOO-WAY,	" x "
	SOO-SOU-AIM-EE-LUAHN,	" x "
	NUS-YOH-YAK-EE-NAH-KOOS,	" x "
	<i>Councillors of Ah-yah-tus-kum-ik-in-um.</i>	
	WILLIAM BADGER,	
	BENJAMIN JOYFUL,	" x "
	JOHN BADGER,	
	JAMES BEAR,	
	<i>Councillors of John Smith.</i>	
	KAH-TIP-IS-KOOR-AHT,	" x "
	KAH-KEW-EE-KWAHW-AHS-UM,	" x "
	NAH-PACH,	" x "
	MUS-IN-AH-NE-HIM-AHN,	" x "
	<i>Councillors of Cha-kas-ta-pay-sin.</i>	

(Signed)	BERNARD CONSTANT,	
	HENRY SMITH,	His x mark.
	MAH-TUA-AHS-TIM-OO-WE GIN,	" x "
	JACOB McLEAN,	" x "
	<i>Councillors of James Smith.</i>	
	NAH-FOO-CHEE-CHEES,	" x "
	NAH-WIS,	" x "
	KAH-PAH-PAH-MAH-CHAHK-NAY,	" x "
	KEE-YEW-AH-KAH-PIM-WAHT,	" x "
	<i>Councillors of Chip-ee-way-an.</i>	
	NAH-WEE-KAH-NICK-KAH-CO-	
	TAH-MAH-HOTE (or Nech-	" x "
	cha-aw-asis),	
	<i>Chief.</i>	

Signed by the Chiefs within named in the presence of the following witnesses, the same having been first read and explained by Peter Erasmus, Peter Ballendine, and the Rev. John McKay :

(Signed) A. H. JACKES, M.D.,  
 JAMES WALKER,  
 J. H. McILREE,  
*N.-W. M. P.*

PIERRE LAVILLER His x mark.  
 ISIDORE DUMOND " x "  
 JEAN DUMOND " x "  
 PETER HOURIE.  
 FRANCOIS GINGRAS.  
 J. B. MITCHELL,  
*Staff-Constable, N.-W. M. P.*

J. H. PRICE,  
*Hospital Steward, N.-W.M.P.*

XAVIER LETANGER His x mark.  
 WILLIAM SINCLAIR.  
 A. R. KENNEDY.  
 R. J. PRITCHARD.  
 L. CLARKE.  
 W. MCKAY.  
 W. D. JARVIS,  
*Inspector, N.-W. M. P.*

Signed by the Chiefs and head men of the Willow Indians, near Fort Carlton, this 28th day of August, A.D. 1876, the same having been first read and explained by the Honorable James McKay, and Peter Erasmus, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses :

SEE-SEE-QUAM-ISH,	His x mark.
NEE-TOO-KEE-WEEKAAH-MAN,	" x "
<i>Councillors.</i>	
KAH-MEE-YIS-TOO-WAY-SIT,	" x "
KAH-PAY-YAK-WAHSK-OO-MUM,	" x "
SEE-SEE-KWAHN-IS,	" x "
<i>Joint Chiefs of Willow Indians.</i>	
KAH-NAH-KAH-SKOW-WAHT.	" x "
KAH-AH-REE-KOO-NE W.	" x "
KAH-NAH-MAH-CHEW.	" x "
MOON-OO-YAHS.	" x "
PO-MIN-AH-KOW.	" x "
OO-TUK-KOO-PAH-KAY-MAH-TOU-	
MAY-YET.	" x "

(Signed) A. G. JACKES, M.D.  
 JOSEPH GENTON.  
 JOHN A. KERR.  
 PIERRE LAVAILLER. His x mark.  
 W. D. JARVIS,  
*N.-W.M.P.*

Signed by Her Majesty's Commissioners, and by the Chiefs and head men hereafter subscribing hereto, the same having been first read and explained to the Indians by the Honorable James McKay and Peter Erasmus, near Fort Pitt, this 9th day of September, A.D. 1876, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses

(Signed) ALEXANDER MORRIS,  
*Lieut.-Governor, N.-W.T.*

JAMES MCKAY,  
 W. J. CHRISTIE,  
*Indian Commissioners.*

WE-KAS-KOO-KEE-PAY-YIN,	His x mark.
PEE-YAS-EE-WAH-KAH-WE-CHAH-KOOT,	" x "
JAMES SEENUM,	" x "
OO-NAH-LAT-MEE-NAH-HOOS,	" x "

(Signed)	SEE-KAHS-KOOTCH,	His x mark.
	TUS-TUSK-EE-SKWAIS,	" x "
	PEE-WAY-SIS,	" x "
	KEE-YE-WIN,	" x "
	<i>Cree Chiefs.</i>	
	KIN-OO-SAY OO,	" x "
	<i>Chipewayan Chief.</i>	
	SEE-WAS-KWAN,	" x "
	WAH-WAY-SEE-HOO-WE-YIN,	" x "
	<i>Councillors to Wee-kas-koo-kee-pay-yin.</i>	" x "
	TIP-EE-SHOW-AH-CHAK,	" x "
	PAY-PAY-SEE-SEE-MOO,	" x "
	<i>Councillors to Pee-yas-ee-wah-kah-we-chah-koot.</i>	
	OO-NOW-UK-EE-PAH-CHAS,	" x "
	MY-OO-WAY-SEES,	" x "
	<i>Councillors to See-kahs-kootch.</i>	
	OOS-PWAH-KHUN-IS,	" x "
	NEE-YE-PEE-TAY-AS-EE-KAY-SE,	" x "
	<i>Councillors to Tus-tusk-ee-skwaish.</i>	
	MAH-CHAH-MEE-NIS,	" x "
	ISAAC CARDINAL,	" x "
	<i>Councillors to Pee-way-sis.</i>	
	ANTOINE XAVIER,	" x "
	<i>Councillor to Kin-oo-say-oo.</i>	
	WILLIAM BULL,	" x "
	<i>Councillor to James Seenum.</i>	
	WAH-KEE-SEE-KOOT,	" x "
	<i>Councillor to See-kahs-kootch.</i>	
	CHARLES CARDINAL,	
	PIERRE WAHBISKAW,	" x "
	<i>Councillors to Kee-ye-win.</i>	
	KI-YAS-EEK-UN,	" x "
	KAH-KEE-OO-PAH-TOW,	" x "
	<i>Councillors to Wee-kas-koo-kee-pay-yin.</i>	
	CAKE-CAKE,	" x "
	<i>Councillor to Oo-nah-lat-mee-nah hoos.</i>	
	KAM-OO-NIN,	" x "
	<i>Councillor to James Seenum.</i>	
	AH-SIS,	" x "
	<i>Councillor to See-kahs-kootch.</i>	



## Witnesses :

(Signed) A. G. JACKES, M.D.  
 JAMES McLEOD,  
*Com., N.-W. M. P.*  
 JAMES WALKER,  
*Inspector, N.-W. M. P.*  
 E. DALRYMPLE CLARKE,  
*Adjutant, N.-W.M.P.*  
 VITAL J. BISH,  
*Of St. Albert, O. M. J.*  
 CONSTANTINE SCOLLEN,  
*Priest, O. M. J.*  
 JOHN McDUGALL,  
*Methodist Missionary.*  
 JOHN MCKAY.  
 W. E. JONES.  
 PETER C. PAMBRUN.  
 A. K. KENNEDY.  
 PETER ERASMUS.  
 THOMAS MCKAY.  
 JAMES SIMPSON.  
 ELIZA HARDISTY.  
 MARY MCKAY.

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## ADHESIONS TO TREATY NUMBER SIX.

We, the undersigned Chiefs and head men of the Cree and other bands of Indians, having had communication of the treaty—a copy of which is printed in the Report of the Minister of the Interior for the year ending 30th June, 1876, concluded at Forts Carlton and Pitt between the Indians inhabiting the country described in said treaty and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by the Commissioners the Honorable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories; the Honorable W. J. Christie, and the Honorable James McKay; but not having been present when the negotiations were being conducted at the above-mentioned places, do hereby, for ourselves and the bands which we represent, agree to all the terms, conditions, covenants, and engagements of whatever kind enumerated in the said treaty, and accept the same as if we had been present, and had consented and agreed to the same when the treaty was first signed and executed.

Witness our hands, at Fort Pitt, this ninth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

(Signed) M. G. DICKIESON,  
*Commissioner.*

PAY-MO-TAY-AH-SOO. His x mark.  
KAH-SEE-MUT-A POO. " x "  
NAH-PAY-SIS. " x "  
KE-HI-WINS,  
*Head man.*

Signed by the Chiefs and head men (having been first read and explained by Peter Erasmus) in the presence of

(Signed) PETER ERASMUS.  
RODERICK CAMPBELL.

Signed at Edmonton, this 21st day of August, in the year above-written, by the Chiefs and head men hereto, the whole having been first read and explained by Peter Erasmus, in the presence of the following witnesses.

(Signed) ALEXIS KEES-KEE-CHEE-CHI, His x mark.  
*Chief.*  
OO-MUO-IN-AH-SOO-WAW-SIN-EE, " x "  
*Head man.*  
CATSCHIS-TAH-WAY-SKUM, " x "  
*Chief.*  
KOO-SAH-WAN-AS-KAY,  
*Head man.*  
PAHS-PAHS-CHASE, " x "  
TAH-KOOTCH, " x "

Witnesses :

(Signed) RIC HARDISTY.  
H. LEDUC.  
PETER ERASMUS.  
W. D. JARVIS,  
*Inspector N.-W.M.P.*

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We, members of the Cree tribe of Indians, having had explained to us the terms of the treaty, made and concluded near Carlton, on the 23rd day of August and on the 28th day of said month respectively, and near Fort Pitt on the 9th day of September, 1876, between Her Majesty the

Queen, by the Commissioners duly appointed to negotiate the said treaty, and the Plain and Wood Cree and other tribes of Indians inhabiting the country within the limits defined in said treaty ; but not having been present at the council at which the articles of the said treaty were agreed upon, do now hereby, for ourselves and the band which we represent, in consideration of the provisions of the said treaty being extended to us and the band which we represent, transfer, surrender, and relinquish to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors, to and for the use of the Government of the Dominion of Canada, all our right, title and interest whatsoever which we and the said band which we represent have held or enjoyed of, in and to the territory described and fully set out in the said treaty, also all our right, title and interest whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated, whether within the limits of any other treaty heretofore made, or hereafter to be made with Indians, or elsewhere in Her Majesty's territories, to have and to hold the same, unto and for the use of Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors forever ;

And we hereby agree to accept the several benefits, payments, and reserves promised to the Indians under the Chiefs adhering to the said treaty at Fort Pitt ; and solemnly engage to abide by, carry out and fulfil, all the stipulations, obligations and conditions therein contained, on the part of the Chiefs and Indians therein named to be observed and performed, and in all things to conform to the articles of the said treaty, as if we ourselves and the band which we represent had been originally contracting parties thereto, and been present at the councils held near Fort Pitt and had there attached our signatures to the said treaty.

In witness whereof Her Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor and Indian Superintendent for the North West Territories, and the Chiefs and Councilors of the band hereby giving their adhesion to the said treaty, have hereunto subscribed and set their hands at the Blackfoot Crossing of the Bow River, this twenty-fifth day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

(Signed) DAVID LAIRD,  
*Lieut.-Governor and Indian  
 Superintendent N.-W.T.*

KIS-KAY-IM, His x mark.  
 (or Bob Tail),  
*Chief.*

MEM-IN-OROU-TAW, " x "  
 (or, Sometimes Glad),

TCHO-WEK " x "  
 (or, Passing Sound),  
*Councillors.*

Signed by the parties hereto in the presence of the undersigned witnesses,  
the same having been first explained to the Indians by Rev. J. Mac-  
Dougall.

(Signed) JAMES F. McLEOD,  
*Com., N.-W.M.P.*  
CONSTANTINE SCOLLEN,  
A. S. IRVINE,  
*Assistant Commissioner.*  
J. McDougall,  
*Missionary.*

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The undersigned Chiefs and head men of the Cree Nation having had communication of the treaty concluded between Her Majesty the Queen by her Commissioners and certain Chiefs of the Cree Nation, at Fort Pitt on the 9th day of September, 1876, agree to surrender our title to all our lands in the North-West Territories and to abide by all the promises set forth in the said treaty, on condition that all the payments, reserves of land, and promises named therein are secured to us by Her Majesty.

And the undersigned Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the North-West Territories, on behalf of Her Majesty, agrees that all the payments, reserves and promises named in the said treaty, to be made to each Cree Chief and his band, shall be faithfully made and carried out to the Chiefs who have subscribed to this memorandum and to their people.

In witness whereof, the undersigned Indian Superintendent, and the undersigned Chiefs and head men have hereto set our hands this nineteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight.

(Signed)	DAVID LAIRD.	
	PUS-KEE-YAH-KAY-WE-YIN.	His x mark.
	MAH-KAYO.	“ x “
	PAY-PAHM-US-KUM-ICK-NIUM.	“ x “
	ISIDORE.	“ x “

Signed the day and year above written, after having been read and interpreted to the Chiefs and head men by Peter Erasmus, in the presence of

(Signed) JOHN FRENCH,  
*Sub-Inspector N.-W. M. P.*  
PETER ERASMUS.





Signed by the parties hereto in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, the same having been first explained to the Indians by Peter Ballendine.

(Signed) JAMES WALKER,  
*Inspector N.-W.M.P.*  
 P. BALLENDINE.  
 HAYTER REED.

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We, the undersigned Chief and head men of the Plain Stony tribe of Indians, having had communication of the treaty made and concluded near Carlton, on the twenty-third and twenty eighth days of August, respectively, and near Fort Pitt on the ninth of September, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six, between Her Majesty the Queen, by her Commissioners, and the Plain and Wood Crees and other tribes of Indians inhabitants of the country named therein, hereby for ourselves and the band which we represent, in consideration of the provisions of the said treaty being extended to our band, cede, transfer, surrender and relinquish to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors, to and for the use of the Government of the Dominion of Canada, all our right, title and privileges whatsoever to all lands in the North-West Territories, or elsewhere in Her Majesty's dominions, to have and to hold the same unto and to the use of Her said Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors forever.

And we hereby agree to accept the several provisions, payments and reserves of the said treaty as therein stated, and solemnly promise and agree to abide by and carry out all the stipulations and obligations therein contained, on the part of said Chiefs and Indians therein named to be observed and performed, and in all things to conform to the articles of the said treaty, as if we ourselves and our band had originally been contracting parties therefor.

And Her Majesty the Queen by her Representative the Honorable David Laird, Indian Superintendent of the North-West Territories, agrees that all the payments and provisions named in the said treaty to be made to each Chief and his band, shall be faithfully made and fulfilled to the aforesaid Chiefs and their bands.

In witness whereof, we, the said Indian Superintendent of the North-West Territories, and the said Chiefs and head men of the Wood Cree tribe of Indians, have hereto set our hands at Carlton this third day of September, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight.

(Signed) DAVID LAIRD,  
*Indian Superintendent.*

(Signed)	<b>KO-PAT-A-WA-KE-NUM,</b>	His	x	mark.
	<i>Chief.</i>			
	<b>BANJIEL MARISTZE.</b>	"	x	"
	<b>JAMES (Chief's son),</b>	"	x	"
	<i>Councillors.</i>			
	<b>SA-SE-WA-HUM.</b>	"	x	"
	<b>KENE-MO-LAY.</b>	"	x	"
	<b>MAS-E-WAS-CHASE.</b>	"	x	"

Signed by the Chiefs and Councillors within named in presence of the following witnesses, the same having first been explained by Peter Ballendine :

(Signed) **L. CLARKE.**  
**A. E. FORGET.**  
**P. BALLENDINE.**

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We, the undersigned Indian Chief and head men, having had communication of the treaty made and concluded at Forts Carlton and Pitt, in the summer of 1876, but not having been present at the conferences at which said treaty was negotiated, hereby agree to accept the terms and conditions of the said treaty, and to abide thereby in the same manner as if we had been present at the time the said treaty was first signed.

As witness our hands this eighteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight.

(Signed)	<b>MICHAEL CALISTROIS.</b>	His	x	mark.
	<b>LOUIS-PAY-PAHN-AH-WAYO.</b>	"	x	"
	<b>AC-OO-SEE.</b>	"	x	"

Signed by the Chief and head men, after having been read and explained by Peter Erasmus.

**L. VANKOUGHNET, Esq.,**  
*Deputy Supt.-General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa.*

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Whereas Little Pine, or Min-a-he-quo-sis, a Cree Chief on behalf of his band and certain other Cree Indians comprising twenty lodges, inhabitants of the country covered by the treaty commonly known as Treaty Number Six made between Her Majesty the Queen by her Commissioners, the Honorable Alexander Morris, the Honorable James McKay and the Honorable William Joseph Christie, of the one part, and the Plain and Wood Cree tribes of Indians of the other part, at Carlton, on the twenty-

third and twenty-eighth days of August, and near Fort Pitt on the ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six, who have not yet given in their adhesion to the said treaty, have presented themselves to Edgar Dewdney, Esq, Indian Commissioner for the North-West Territories, and expressed a desire to join in the said treaty. And whereas, the said Commissioner has recognized the said Little Pine as the head man of his band and the said band of twenty lodges have selected and appointed Pap-a-way the Lucky Man, one of their number, as the head man of their band, and have presented him as such to the said Commissioner, who has recognized and accepted him as such head man.

Now this instrument witnesseth that the said Little Pine and Pap-a-way, or the Lucky Man, for themselves and on behalf of the bands which they represent, do transfer, surrender and relinquish to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors to and for the use of her Government of the Dominion of Canada, all their right, title and interest whatsoever, which they have held or enjoyed, of, in and to the territory described and fully set out in the said treaty ; also all their right, title and interest whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated, whether within their limits of any other treaty heretofore made or hereafter to be made with Indians or elsewhere in Her Majesty's territories, to have and to hold the same unto and for the use of Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors forever. And do hereby agree to accept the several benefits, payment and reserves promised to the Indians adhering to the said treaty at Carlton and Fort Pitt on the dates above mentioned ; and further, do solemnly engage to abide by, carry out and fulfil all the stipulations, obligations and conditions contained on the part of the Indians therein named, to be observed and performed, and in all things to conform to the articles of the said treaty, as if the said Little Pine and Pap-a-way or the Lucky Man and the bands whom they represent had been originally contracting parties thereto, and had been present at the treaty at Carlton and Fort Pitt, and had there attached their signatures to the said treaty.

In witness whereof Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner for the North-West Territories, and the said Little Pine and Pap-a-way or the Lucky Man, head men of the said bands, hereby giving their adhesion to the said treaty, have hereunto subscribed and set their hands at Fort Walsh, in the said North-West Territories this second day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

(Signed) EDGAR DEWDNEY,

*Indian Commissioner.*

LITTLE PINE.

His x mark.

THE LUCKY MAN.

“ x “

Signed by the parties hereto, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, the same having been explained to the Indians by the said Edgar Dewdney, Esq., Indian Commissioner, through the interpreters Edward McKay and P. Leveiller.

(Signed) JAMES F. McLEOD,  
*Com. N.-W. M. P.*  
A. G. IRVINE,  
*Assistant Com. N.-W. M. P.*  
FRANK NORMAN,  
*Staff Constable N.-W. M. P.*

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## No. 14.

## THE TREATY WITH THE BLACKFEET, NUMBER SEVEN.

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by her Commissioners, the Honorable David Laird, Lieutenant-Governor and Indian Superintendent of the North-West Territories, and James Farquharson McLeod, C.M.G., Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police, of the one part, and the Blackfeet, Blood, Piegon, Sarcee, Stony, and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory north of the United States boundary line, east of the central range of the Rocky Mountains, and south and west of Treaties Numbers Six and Four, by their head Chiefs and minor Chiefs or Councillors, chosen as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part :

Whereas the Indians inhabiting the said territory, have pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioners, been convened at a meeting at the "Blackfoot crossing" of the Bow River, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other ;

And whereas the said Indians have been informed by Her Majesty's Commissioners that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settle-

ment, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country, bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty, and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and between them and Her Majesty's other subjects ; and that her Indian people may know and feel assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence ;

And whereas the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in council, and being requested by Her Majesty's Commissioners to present their head Chiefs and minor Chiefs and Councillors, who shall be authorized, on their behalf, to conduct such negotiations and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as should be assumed by them, the Blackfeet, Blood, Piegan and Sarcee Indians have therefore acknowledged for that purpose, the several head and minor Chiefs, and the said Stony Indians, the Chiefs and Councillors who have subscribed hereto, that thereupon in open council the said Commissioners received and acknowledged the head and minor Chiefs and the Chiefs and Councillors presented for the purpose aforesaid ;

And whereas the said Commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians ; and the same has been finally agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say : the Blackfeet, Blood, Piegan, Sarcee, Stony and other Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter more fully described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of Canada for Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say :

Commencing at a point on the international boundary due south of the western extremity of the Cypress Hills ; thence west along the said boundary to the central range of the Rocky Mountains, or to the boundary of the Province of British Columbia : thence north-westerly along the said boundary to a point due west of the source of the main branch of the Red Deer River ; thence south-westerly and southerly following on the boundaries of the tracts ceded by the Treaties Numbered Six and Four to the place of commencement ; and also all their rights titles and privileges whatsoever, to all other lands wherever situated in the North-West Territories. or in any other portion of the Dominion of Canada :

To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever :

And Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees with her said Indians, that they shall have right to pursue their vocations of hunting throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as



may, from time to time, be made by the Government of the country, acting under the authority of Her Majesty ; and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, trading or other purposes by her Government of Canada, or by any of Her Majesty's subjects duly authorized therefor by the said Government.

It is also agreed between Her Majesty and her said Indians that reserves shall be assigned them of sufficient area to allow one square mile for each family of five persons, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, and that said reserves shall be located as follows, that is to say :

First—The reserves of the Blackfeet, Blood, and Sarcee bands of Indians, shall consist of a belt of land on the north side of the Bow and South Saskatchewan Rivers, of an average width of four miles along said rivers, down stream, commencing at a point on the Bow River twenty miles north-westerly of the "Blackfoot crossing" thereof, and extending to the Red Deer River at its junction with the South Saskatchewan ; also for the term of ten years, and no longer, from the date of the concluding of this treaty, when it shall cease to be a portion of said Indian reserves, as fully to all intents and purposes as if it had not at any time been included therein, and without any compensation to individual Indians for improvements, of a similar belt of land on the south side of the Bow and Saskatchewan Rivers of an average width of one mile along said rivers, down stream ; commencing at the aforesaid point on the Bow River, and extending to a point one mile west of the coal seam on said river, about five miles below the said "Blackfoot crossing ;" beginning again one mile east of the said coal seam and extending to the mouth of Maple Creek at its junction with the South Saskatchewan ; and beginning again at the junction of the Bow River with the latter river, and extending on both sides of the South Saskatchewan in an average width on each side thereof of one mile, along said river against the stream, to the junction of the Little Bow River with the latter river, reserving to Her Majesty, as may now or hereafter be required by her for the use of her Indian and other subjects, from all the reserves hereinbefore described, the right to navigate the above mentioned rivers, to land and receive fuel and cargoes on the shores and banks thereof, to build bridges and establish ferries thereon, to use the fords thereof and all the trails leading thereto, and to open such other roads through the said reserves as may appear to Her Majesty's Government of Canada, necessary for the ordinary travel of her Indian and other subjects, due compensation being paid to individual Indians for improvements, when the same may be in any manner encroached upon by such roads.

Secondly—That the reserve of the Piegan band of Indians shall be on the Old Man's River, near the foot of the Porcupine Hills, at a place called "Crow's Creek."

And thirdly—The reserve of the Stony band of Indians shall be in the vicinity of Morleyville.

In view of the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the recent general good conduct of her said Indians, and in extinguishment of all their past claims, she hereby, through her Commissioners, agrees to make them a present payment of twelve dollars each in cash to each man, woman, and child of the families here represented.

Her Majesty also agrees that next year, and annually afterwards forever, she will cause to be paid to the said Indians, in cash, at suitable places and dates, of which the said Indians shall be duly notified, to each Chief, twenty-five dollars, each minor Chief or Councillor (not exceeding fifteen minor Chiefs to the Blackfeet and Blood Indians, and four to the Piegan and Sarcee bands, and five Councillors to the Stony Indian bands) fifteen dollars, and to every other Indian of whatever age, five dollars; the same, unless there be some exceptional reason, to be paid to the heads of families for those belonging thereto.

Further, Her Majesty agrees that the sum of two thousand dollars shall hereafter every year be expended in the purchase of ammunition for distribution among the said Indians; provided that if at any future time ammunition became comparatively unnecessary for said Indians, her Government, with the consent of said Indians, or any of the bands thereof, may expend the proportion due to such band otherwise for their benefit.

Further, Her Majesty agrees that each head Chief and minor Chief, and each Chief and Councillor duly recognized as such, shall once in every three years, during the term of their office, receive a suitable suit of clothing, and head Chief and Stony Chief, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable medal and flag, and next year, or as soon as convenient, each head Chief, and minor Chief, and Stony Chief, shall receive a Winchester rifle.

Further, Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers.

Further, Her Majesty agrees to supply each head and minor Chief, and each Stony Chief, for the use of their bands, ten axes, five handsaws, five augers, one grindstone, and the necessary files and whetstones.

And further, Her Majesty agrees that the said Indians shall be supplied as soon as convenient, after any band shall make due application therefor, with the following cattle for raising stock, that is to say: for every family of five persons, and under, two cows; for every family of more than five persons, and less than ten persons, three cows; for every family of over ten persons, four cows; and every head and minor Chief, and every Stony Chief, for the use of their bands, one bull; but if any band desire to cul-

tivate the soil as well as raise stock, each family of such band shall receive one cow less than the above mentioned number, and in lieu thereof, when settled on their reserves and prepared to break up the soil, two hoes, one spade, one scythe, and two hay forks, and for every three families, one plough and one harrow, and for each band, enough potatoes, barley, oats, and wheat (if such seeds be suited for the locality of their reserves) to plant the land actually broken up. All the aforesaid articles to be given, once for all, for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians.

And the undersigned Blackfeet, Blood, Piegan, and Sarcee head Chiefs and minor Chiefs, and Stony Chiefs and Councillors, on their own behalf, and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. They promise and engage that they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law, that they will maintain peace and good Order between each other, and between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians, Half-breeds, or whites, now inhabiting, or hereafter to inhabit, any part of the said ceded tract; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tract, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tract or any part thereof, and that they will assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

In witness whereof Her Majesty's said Commissioners, and the said Indian head and minor Chiefs, and Stony Chiefs, and Councillors have hereunto subscribed and set their hands, at the "Blackfoot crossing" of the Bow River, the day and year herein first above written.

(Signed)      DAVID LAIRD,  
*Gov. of N.-W.T., and Special Indian Commissioner.*

JAMES F. McLEOD,  
*Lieut.-Colonel, Com. N.-W.M.P., and  
Special Indian Commissioner.*

CHAPO-MEXICO (or Crowfoot),      His x mark.  
*Head Chief of the South Blackfeet.*

MATOSE-APIW (or Old Sun),      " x "  
*Head Chief of the North Blackfeet.*

STAMISCOTOCAR (or Bull Head),      " x "  
*Head Chief of the Sarcees.*

(Signed)		His x mark.
	<b>MEKASTO (or Red Crow),</b> <i>Head Chief of the South Bloods.</i>	
	<b>NATOSE-ONISTORS (or Medicine Calf),</b>	" x "
	<b>POKAPIW-OTOIAN (or Bad Head),</b>	" x "
	<b>SOTENAH (or Rainy Chief),</b> <i>Head Chief of the North Bloods.</i>	" x "
	<b>TAKOYE-STAMIX (or Fiend Bull),</b>	" x "
	<b>AKKA-KITCIPIMIW-OTAS (or Many Spotted Horses).</b>	" x "
	<b>ATTISTAH-MACAN (or Running Habit),</b>	" x "
	<b>PITAH-PEKIS (or Eagle Rib),</b>	" x "
	<b>SAKOYE-AOTAN (or Heavy Shield),</b> <i>Head Chief of the Middle Blackfeet.</i>	" x "
	<b>ZOATZE-TAPITAPIW (or Setting on an Eagle Tail),</b> <i>Head Chief of the North Piegons.</i>	" x "
	<b>AKKA-MAKROYE (or Many Swans).</b>	" x "
	<b>APENAKO-SAPOP (or Morning Plume).</b>	" x "
	* <b>MAS-GWA-AH-SID (or Bear's Paw).</b>	" x "
	* <b>CHE-NE-KA (or John).</b>	" x "
	* <b>KI-CHI-PWOT (or Jacob).</b>	" x "
	<b>STAMIX-OSOK (or Bull Bacfat).</b>	" x "
	<b>EMUTAH-APISKINNE (or White Striped Dog).</b>	" x "
	<b>MATAPI-KOMOTZIW (or the Captive or Stolen Person).</b>	" x "
	<b>APAWAWAKOSOW (or White Antelope).</b>	" x "
	<b>MAKOYE-KIN (or Wolf Collar).</b>	" x "
	<b>AYE-STIPIS-SIMAT (or Heavily Whipped).</b>	" x "
	<b>KISSOUM (or Day Light).</b>	" x "
	<b>PITAH-OTOCAN (or Eagle Head).</b>	" x "
	<b>APAW-STAMIX (or Weasel Bull).</b>	" x "
	<b>ONISTAH-POKAH (or White Calf).</b>	" x "
	<b>NETAH-KITEI-PI-MEW (or Only Spot).</b>	" x "
	<b>AKAK-OTOS (or Many Horses).</b>	" x "
	<b>STOKIMATIS (or the Drum).</b>	" x "
	<b>PITAH-ANNES (or Eagle Robe).</b>	" x "
	<b>PITAH-OTSIKIN (or Eagle Shoe).</b>	" x "
	<b>STAMIX-OTA-KA-PIW (or Bull Turn Round).</b>	" x "
	<b>MASTE-PITAH (or Crow Eagle).</b>	" x "

(Signed)	† JAMES DIXON.	His x mark.
	† ABRAHAM KECHEPWOT,	" x "
	† PATRICK KECHEPWOT,	" x "
	† GEORGE MOY-ANY-MEN.	" x "
	† GEORGE CRAWLOR.	" x "
	EKAS-KINE (or Low Horn).	" x "
	KAYO-OKOSIS (or Bear Shield).	" x "
	PONOKAH-STAMIX (or Bull Elk).	" x "
	OMAXI SAPOP (or Big Plume).	" x "
	ONISTAH (or Calf Robe).	" x "
	PITAH-SIKSINUM (or White Eagle).	" x "
	APAW-ONISTAW (or Weasel Calf).	" x "
	ATTISTA-HAES (or Rabbit Carrier).	" x "
	PITAH (or Eagle).	" x "
	PITAH-ONISTAH (or Eagle White Calf.)	" x "
	KAYE-TAPO (or Going to Bear).	" x "

Signed by the Chiefs and Councillors within named in presence of the following witnesses, the same having been first explained by James Bird, Interpreter.

(Signed) A. G. IRVINE, *Ass't. Com. N.-W.M.P.*

J. McDOUGALL, *Missionary.*

JEAN L'HEUREUX,

W. WINDER.

T. N. F. CROZIER, *Inspectors.*

E. DALRYMPLE CLARK, *Lieut. and*  
*Adjutant N.-W.M.P.*

A. SHURTLIFF,

C. E. DENING,

W. D. ANTROBUS, *Sub-Inspectors.*

FRANK NORMAN, *Staff Constable.*

MARY J. MACLEOD.

JULIA WINDER.

JULIA SHURTLIFF.

E. HARDISTY.

A. McDOUGALL.

E. A. BARRETT.

CONSTANTINE SCOLLEN, *Priest*, wit-  
ness to signatures of Stonixosak  
and those following.

CHARLES E. CONRAD.

THOS. J. BOGG.



## ADHESION TO TREATY NUMBER SEVEN.

We the members of the Blackfoot tribe of Indians, having had explained to us the terms of the treaty made and concluded at the Blackfoot crossing of the Bow River, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven ;

Between Her Majesty the Queen, by her Commissioners duly appointed to negotiate the said treaty, and the Blackfeet, Blood, Piegan, Sarcee, Stony and other Indian inhabitants of the country within the limits defined in the said treaty, but not having been present at the Councils at which the articles of the said treaty were agreed upon, do now hereby, for ourselves and the bands which we represent, in consideration of the provisions of the said treaty being extended to us and the bands which we represent, transfer, surrender and relinquish to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors, to and for the use of her Government of the Dominion of Canada, all our right, title and interest whatsoever, which we and the said bands which we represent have or enjoyed, of in and to the territory described and fully set out in the said treaty ; also, all our right, title and interest whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated, whether within the limits of any other treaty heretofore made or hereafter to be made with Indians, or elsewhere in Her Majesty's territories, to have and to hold the same unto and for the use of Her Majesty the Queen, her heir and successors forever ;

And we hereby agree to accept the several benefits, payments, and reserves promised to the Indians under the Chiefs adhering to the said treaty at the Blackfoot crossing of the Bow River, and we solemnly engage to abide by, carry out and fulfil all the stipulations, obligations and conditions therein contained on the part of the Chiefs and Indians therein named, to be observed and performed and in all things to conform to the articles of the said treaty, as if we ourselves and the bands which we represent had been originally contracting parties thereto and had been present at the Councils held at the Blackfoot crossing of the Bow River, and had there attached our signatures to the said treaty.

In witness whereof James Farquharson McLeod, C.M.G., one of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to negotiate the said treaty, and the Chief of the band, hereby giving their adhesion to the said treaty, have hereunto subscribed and set their hands at Fort McLeod, this fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

(Signed) JAMES F. MCLEOD,  
*Lieut.-Col., Special Indian  
Commissioner.*

MEANXKISTOMACH,      His x mark.  
(or Three Bulls).

Signed by the parties hereto in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, the same having been explained to the Indians by the said James Farquharson McLeod, one of the Commissioners appointed to negotiate the said treaty, through the interpreter, Jerry Potts, in the presence of

(Signed) A. G. IRVINE,  
*Assistant Commissioner.*  
E. DALRYMPLE CLARK,  
*Lieutenant and Adjutant N.-W.M.P.*  
CHARLES E. CONRAD,  
W. WINDER,  
*Inspector.*

## No. 15.

## CANADA.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of GOD, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, QUEEN, Defender of the Faith, &c., &c.

*To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.*

Whereas, by an Act of Parliament of Canada, passed in the thirty-fifth year of Our reign, entitled "An Act respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway," it is provided upon the considerations therein declared, that a railway to be called "The Canadian Pacific Railway," should be made in conformity with the agreement referred to in the preamble to the said Act, and should extend from some point on or near Lake Nipissing, and on the south shore thereof, to some point on the shore of the Pacific Ocean; both the said points to be determined by the Governor in Council, and the course of the line of the said railway between the said points to be subject to the approval of the Governor in Council.

And whereas, it is by the said Act further provided, "That the Government of Canada might further agree with the Company with whom they shall have agreed for the construction and working of the said railway, for the construction and working of a branch line of railway from

some point on the railway first thereinbefore mentioned, to some point on Lake Superior in British Territory, and for the construction and working of another branch line of railway, from some point on the railway first mentioned, in the Province of Manitoba, to some point on the line between that Province and the United States of America, the said points to be determined by the Governor in Council ; and that such branch lines of railway should, when so agreed for, be held to form part of the railway first thereinbefore mentioned and portions of "The Canadian Pacific Railway."

And whereas, amongst other things, it is by the said Act in effect provided that if there should be no company either incorporated originally for the construction of the whole line of railway, or formed out of two or more companies for that purpose, or if the Government could not agree, or did not deem it advisable to agree with any such company for the construction and working of the whole line of railway under the said Act, or if the Government should be of opinion that it would be more advantageous for the Dominion and would better ensure the attainment of the purposes of the said Act, that a company should be incorporated by charter as therein provided, then if there should be persons able and willing to form such company, and having a subscribed capital of at least ten million dollars secured to the satisfaction of the Governor in Council and ready to enter into such agreement with the Government for the construction and running of the said railway, the Governor should have power upon the conditions in the said Act mentioned, to grant to such persons, and those who should be associated with them in the undertaking, a charter embodying the agreement made with such persons, which should be binding on company, and so much of the said Act and of the Railway Act (as such Railway Act was modified by an Act of the now last session with reference to any railway to be constructed under such Act on any of the lines or between any of the points mentioned in the said Act now in recital) as agreed upon between the Government and such company, and that such charter being published in the *Canadian Gazette*, with any Order or Orders in Council relating to it, should in so far as it is not inconsistent with the said recited Act, have force and effect as if it were an Act of the Parliament of Canada.

And whereas, the Government has failed to induce the two companies incorporated by Parliament during its last session for the purpose of constructing the railway, to form one company, and does not deem it advisable to agree with either of the said two companies for the construction of the railway, as is of opinion that it will be more advantageous for the Dominion, and will better ensure the attainment of the purposes of the Act first above mentioned that a company shall be incorporated by charter as in such Act provided.

And whereas, Sir Hugh Allen, of the City of Montreal, Knight ; the Honorable Adams George Archibald, of the City of Halifax, C.M.G., a member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada ; the Honorable Joseph Octave Beaubien, of Montmagny, Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Province of Quebec ; Jean Baptiste Beaudry, of the City of Montreal, Esquire ; Egerton Ryerson Burpee, of the City of St. John, Esquire ; Fredric William Cumberland, of the City of Toronto, Esquire ; Sandford Fleming, of the City of Ottawa, Esquire ; Robert Newton Hall, of the Town of Sherbrooke, Esquire ; The Honorable John Sebastian Helmcken, of the City of Victoria ; Andrew McDermott, of the Town of Winnipeg, Esquire ; Donald McInnes, of the City of Hamilton, Esquire ; Walter Shanly, at present of the Town of North Adams, in the United States of America, Esquire ; and John Walker, of the City of London, in the Province of Ontario, Esquire ; have shewn themselves to be able and willing to form such company for the construction and working of the railway and branches, and have subscribed a capital sum of ten million dollars, secured to the satisfaction of the Governor in Council, and have so subscribed the same in the proportions following, that is to say : \$3,846,000, or nearly five thirteenths, in the Province of Ontario ; \$3,076,800, or nearly four thirteenths, in the Province of Quebec ; and \$769,300, or upwards of one thirteenth in each of the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, and British Columbia respectively ; and are ready to enter into an agreement with the Government for the construction and working of the railway and branches ; and the Government has agreed with the said persons for the construction and working of the railway and branches.

AND, WHEREAS, the agreement so made and entered into between the said persons and Government is embodied in this our Royal Charter.

NOW THEREFORE KNOW YE, that WE, of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, and in pursuance of the power vested in us by the act hereinbefore in part recited, DO ORDAIN, GRANT AND DECLARE that the said Sir Hugh Allan, Honorable Adams George Archibald, Honorable Joseph Octave Beaubien, Jean Baptiste Beaudry, Esquire ; Egerton Ryerson Burpee, Esquire ; Fredric William Cumberland, Esquire ; Sandford Fleming, Esquire ; Robert Newton Hall Esquire ; Honorable John Sebastian Helmcken Esquire ; Andrew McDermot, Esquire ; Donald McInnes, Esquire ; Walter Shanly, Esquire ; and John Walker, Esquire ; together with all such persons as shall become associated with them in the undertaking, for the purposes herein mentioned, shall be and are hereby constituted a body, corporate and politic, by the name, style, and title of "The Canadian Pacific Railway Company," and by that name they and their successors shall and may have continued succession, and be capable of contracting and being contracted with, for suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered unto,



in all courts and places whatsoever, in all manner of actions, suits, matters and causes whatsoever. And that they and their successors may have a common seal, and may change and alter the same at their will and pleasure ; and also that they and their successors by the name of "The Canadian Pacific Railway Company" shall be in law capable of taking, purchasing and holding to them and their successors, any estate, real, personal or mixed, to and for the use of the company, and of selling, conveying, leasing or otherwise departing therewith, for the benefit and on the account of the company, from time to time as they shall deem expedient or necessary, subject to the provisions, restrictions and limitations hereinafter contained.

#### STOCK.

2. AND WE DO FURTHER ORDAIN AND DECLARE that the capital stock of the company shall be ten million dollars, which shall not be increased but by Act of Parliament (such capital stock having been already subscribed as aforesaid), to be held in shares of one hundred dollars each, and shall in all respects be deemed personal property, and ten per centum thereon shall be paid into the hands of the Receiver-General of Canada, in money or Canadian Government securities, within one month after the date of these presents, to remain in his hands until otherwise ordered by Parliament. And the interest received by the Receiver-General from the investment of such money and from such securities, shall be paid to the company as received, until he has been authorized by the Government to withhold and retain the same by reason of some default incurred by the company in the performance of the conditions of this charter, or by any subsequent agreement between the Government and the company.

3. That the shares of the said capital stock shall, after the deposit thereon has been paid, be transferable : but no transfer made within six years from the date hereof shall be valid or effectual, unless it be made with the consent of the Government and of the Directors, and registered in the books to be kept by the company for that purpose ; nor after six years unless it be made with the consent of the directors and registered as aforesaid. And in the event of the right of property in any of the shares in the capital stock of the company becoming transmitted otherwise than by direct transfer, the person claiming the same shall be bound to establish such claim in the manner provided for the transmission of bank stock by the act 34 Vic., cap. 5, intituled "An Act Respecting Banks and Banking," and in the event of the bankruptcy or insolvency of any holder of any shares not fully paid up, or of the sale thereof under execution, such shall be *ipso facto* forfeited, but the company shall pay the purchaser of such shares, or the assignee or other representative of such shareholder, for such shares at the current value thereof.



That no call shall be made upon the stock of the Company beyond or above the first deposit of ten per centum thereon, save as in this clause mentioned, and the balance of ninety per centum thereof, shall not be called up until after the expenditure of the money to be raised upon the bonds of the company or otherwise, as hereinafter authorized and provided ; but such balance shall remain as a security to the Government for the final completion and equipment of the railway. After such expenditure, the directors may from time to time, if necessary, with the approval of the Government, call upon the shareholders for such instalments upon each share, and in such proportion as the directors may see fit ; except that no such instalment shall exceed ten per centum on the subscribed capital, and that ninety days' notice of the time fixed for the payment thereof shall be given in such manner as the directors shall think fit. And such calls shall not be made more frequently than once in ninety days.

## RAILWAY.

5. That the company may, and shall lay out, construct, equip, maintain, and work a continuous railway, of the width or gauge of four feet eight and one-half inches ; which railway shall be made in conformity with the act hereinafter recited, and with this our Royal Charter ; and such railway shall extend from some point on or near Nipissing, and on the south shore thereof, to some point on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, both the said points to be determined by the Government, and the course and line of the said railway between the said points, to be subject to the approval of the Government.

6. That the Company may and shall lay out, construct, equip, maintain and work a branch line of railway from some point on the railway in the last preceding clause mentioned, to some point on Lake Superior, in British Territory ; and also another branch line of railway from some point on the railway in the last preceding clause mentioned in the Province of Manitoba, to some point on the line between that Province and the United States of America, the said points and the courses and lines of the said branches between the said points to be determined by the Government ; the said branches to be of the gauge aforesaid ; and such branch lines of railway shall form part of the railway in the last preceding clause mentioned, and portions of THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

7. The railway shall be divided into sections as follows :—

- (1) THE EASTERN SECTION :—Extending from the eastern terminus to Red River.
- (2) THE LAKE SUPERIOR SECTION :—Extending from some point on the eastern section to Lake Superior.
- (3) THE CENTRAL SECTION :—Extending from Red River to a point in the longitude of Fort Edmonton.

- (4) **THE MANITOBA SECTION** :—Extending from the main line in the Province of Manitoba to the boundary of the United States.
- (5) **THE WESTERN SECTION** :—Extending from a point in the longitude of Fort Edmonton to the Pacific coast.

8. That the company shall within two years from the twentieth day of July, in the year 1871, commence simultaneously the construction of the railway, from the Pacific Ocean towards the Rocky Mountains, and from a point in the Province of Ontario, hereafter to be determined by the Government, towards the Pacific Ocean, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada ; and further shall construct the Manitoba Section by thirty-first day of December, 1874; the Lake Superior Section and such portion of eastern section as shall be required to complete communication between Lake Superior and Red River, by the thirty-first December, 1876 ; shall proceed with and construct the eastern and western sections simultaneously ; shall prosecute the work of constructing the railway with all due diligence, and shall complete the whole railway within ten years from the said twentieth day of July, 1871, unless the last mentioned period shall be enlarged by Act of Parliament, in which case the company shall complete the whole railway within such extended period.

9. That the railway shall be constructed according to specifications to be hereafter agreed upon by the Government and the company, and the materials of, the manner in which the several works forming part thereof shall be constructed, and the mode of working the railway, or any part thereof, including the description and capacity of the locomotive engines, and other rolling stock for working it, shall be as many as hereafter agreed upon by the Government and the company : provided always that if the Government and the company should be unable to agree as to the details of any of the matters in this clause mentioned, the same shall be from time to time, referred to the determination of three competent engineers, one of whom shall be chosen by the Government, one by the company, and the third by such two engineers, and the expenses of said references shall be defrayed by the company. And in order to establish an approximate standard whereby such matters may be regulated, the Union Pacific railroad of the United States is hereby selected and fixed as such standard, but in a general way only, and not with respect to any minor details in its construction or working, which may be found objectionable, nor with respect to alignment and grades, which shall be as favorable as the nature of the country will admit of without undue expenditure.

10. And whenever any portion of the railway is completed, the company shall, upon being thereunto required by the Government, work the same for the conveyance of passengers and goods, at such times and in

such manner as shall be from time to time agreed upon between the Government and the company, or in case of failure to agree, as shall be determined by three engineers, selected as hereinbefore provided.

11. That the Government may, from time to time appoint such persons as it may think proper, to examine, inspect and report upon the construction and equipment of the railway, for the purpose of ensuring the faithful performance of the agreement between the Government and the company, and the observance of all the provisions of this charter.

12. That the company may and shall construct, maintain and work, a continuous telegraph line, throughout and along the whole line of the railway, such telegraph line being required for the proper working of the railway, and forming a necessary appendage thereto.

13. That the company shall from time to time furnish such reports of the progress of the work, with such details and plans of the work as the Government may require.

#### LAND GRANT.

That to secure the construction of the main line of railway, and in consideration thereof, there is hereby appropriated a grant to the Company of fifty million acres of land : which land, with the exceptions hereinafter mentioned, the company shall be entitled to demand and receive in the Provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia and in the North-West Territories, in blocks, not exceeding twenty miles in depth, on each side of each main line, and not less than six nor more than twelve miles in width, alternating with blocks of like depth and width on each side thereof reserved by the Government.

That, to secure the construction of such branch lines, and in consideration thereof, the company shall be entitled to demand and receive from the Government in the North-West Territories, a land grant, in aid of the branch line to Lake Superior, of twenty-five thousand acres per mile ; and a land grant in aid of the branch line in Manitoba, of twenty thousand acres per mile.

That the land to be granted in aid of the main line, which shall not be comprised within the alternate blocks hereinbefore mentioned, or be within the Province of Ontario, shall be allotted to the company in alternate blocks on each side of a common front line or lines, in like manner as the blocks granted and reserved along the line of the railway. And the land grant which the Government may be enabled to make to the company for the purposes aforesaid under any arrangement with the Government of the Province of Ontario, shall be received by the company as part of the said land grant in aid of the main line.

But no land grant shall include any land then before granted to any other party, or on which any other party has any lawful claims of pre-

emption, or otherwise, or any land reserved for school or other public offices, or any land reserved or to be reserved under agreement with the Hudson Bay Company, and the deficiency arising from the exception of any such lands shall be made to the company by the grant of an equal extension from other wild and ungranted Dominion lands.

That if it shall be found that any of the alternate blocks laid out along the line of railway are unfit for settlement, the company shall not be bound to receive from the Government any greater depth of land in such blocks than one mile, computed from the railway.

That the lands be granted in aid of the main line of railway from out of the lands of the Dominion, and the lands to be granted in aid of the said branches, shall consist of such land as shall be found east of the Rocky Mountains, between parallels forty-nine and fifty-seven of north latitude, and the company shall not be bound to receive any lands which are not of the fair average quality of the land in the sections of the country best adapted for settlement lying within those limits; and the same shall be laid out as nearly as may be contiguous to the lands granted along the main line of the railway, and to the Lake Superior branch.

The company shall also have a right of way for the railway through the Dominion lands.

The lands hereby appointed to the company shall be granted from time to time, at intervals of six months, as any portion of the railway is proceeded with, in quantities proportionate to the length, difficulty of construction, and expenditure upon each such position, to be determined in such manner as hereafter is provided.

15. That the price at which the alternate blocks of land retained by the Government shall be sold by the Government, shall be from time to time adjusted by agreement between the Government and the company, according to the price that is found to be obtainable for such lands without obstructing the settlement of the country. But unless the company shall sell lands granted to them at a lower average price, or shall otherwise agree, the Government shall, for and during the term of twenty years from the date hereof, retain the upset price of such alternate blocks at an average price of not less than two dollars and fifty cents per acre. The provisions of this clause are, however, subject to the sanction of Parliament.

16. That the subdivision of blocks of land granted to the Company, shall be made in conformity with the system of survey described by the Dominion Lands Act, and any amendment thereof; and shall be made by the company, and be subject to the inspection and approval of the Surveyor-General of Dominion Lands.

17. That the Government shall extinguish the Indian title affecting the lands herein appropriated, and to be hereinafter granted in aid of the railway.



## SUBSIDY.

18. That a subsidy or aid in money, amounting to thirty million dollars, is hereby granted to the company, payable from time to time by instalments, at intervals of one month, as any portion of the railway is proceeded with, in proportion to the length, difficulty of construction, and cost of such portion, such proportion to be ascertained and settled in the same manner as is herein provided with respect to the grants of land.

19. That the company shall allow, as part of the subsidy, the cost of the survey made in the years one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one and one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, and to be made in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, by the Government of Canada, for the purpose of ascertaining the best line for the railway.

20. That it shall be lawful for the company to accept and receive from the Government of any Province, or from any municipality in Canada, or from any corporation, a subsidy or aid in money or bonds, or securities payable in such manner, at such times, on such conditions, and at such places in Canada or elsewhere as may be agreed upon with the company.

## BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

21. That the company may by By-Law create a board of trustees, to consist of three persons, to be chosen and to be removable at pleasure as follows, that is to say: one member thereof by the Government, one member thereof by the Board of Directors, and the other member by, or on behalf of, the bondholders, in such manner as may be provided by such By-Law; and upon the completion of such board by the choice of such members, the same shall be published by the secretary of the company in the *Canada Gazette*.

22. That the removal, resignation, mental incapacity, or insolvency of any member of the Board shall vacate his appointment as such; and thereupon, or upon the death of any member, the vacancy occasioned thereby shall be filled by the choice of a person to be a member of the said Board by the Government, the Board of Directors, or the bondholders as the case may be, by whom the member whose vacant seat was to be filled was originally chosen, and such change shall be published in the manner aforesaid.

23. That the duties and powers of the Board of Trustees shall be as follows:

I. To receive from time to time from the Government of Canada such portion or portions of the subsidy of thirty million dollars as may be earned by, and payable to, the company, as hereinbefore mentioned.



II. To receive from time to time the net proceeds of the sales or rents of such portions of the land hereby appropriated, as may from time to time be sold or leased by the company, and also such subsidies and aids as may be granted to the company by the Government of any Province, or by any municipality or other corporation.

III. To pay the Board of Trustees for their services such sums of money as shall be from time to time fixed by by-law of the Company.

IV. After payment of the expenses of the trust, to invest all moneys received by them as trustees in the securities of the Government of Canada, or of any of its Provinces, or of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or of any of the colonies of the United Kingdom, or of the British possessions in India, or of the United States of America; and the Board may from time to time sell any such securities, and shall in any such case re-invest the proceeds of any such sale in other securities of the nature and kind hereinbefore mentioned, or in lieu thereof, when so directed by resolution of the shareholders, passed in accordance with a by-law of the company, purchase outstanding bonds of the company.

V. The investments to be made, as hereinbefore directed, and the securities whereof the same shall from time to time consist, shall form a sinking fund, to be held by the Board of Trustees, upon the trusts following, that is to say: Upon trust to pay all costs and charges, which may be incurred in respect of the execution of the trusts hereby created, and the investment and re-investment as hereinbefore mentioned, and thereafter upon trust to pay the interest upon the bonds of the company, as the same shall from time to time become due and payable, and thereafter upon trust to pay and discharge the bonds of the company as the same, and the principal money thereby secured shall mature and become due and payable, and upon this further trust, after full payment and discharge of all sums of money of principal and interest upon the bonds of the company, and of all costs and charges incurred in respect of the execution of the trusts hereby created, to transfer the said sinking fund, and the securities thereof, to the company, and the trust hereby created shall thereupon cease and absolutely determine.

VI. The Board of Trustees shall conform to any order or direction respecting the performance of its duties, which may be concurred in by the company, and by the bondholders acting as provided by law.

24. That the board shall have such further and other powers in the premises, as may be conferred upon them by any by-law of the company approved of by the Government. But no such by-law shall be contrary to, or inconsistent with the provisions of this charter.

25. That a majority of the Board of Trustees may lawfully exercise the powers of the board, and the action of such majority shall be held to be the action of the board. But none of the powers hereby vested in the com-

pany, or in the Board of Trustees, or the majority of them, shall be acted upon contrary to or inconsistent with the provisions of any agreement which shall be duly entered into by the company, or the Board of Trustees, or by both, with any person or persons who may agree to become holders of the bonds of the company. And any agreement, resolution or proceeding, made or taken contrary to, or inconsistent with, such agreement, to the detriment of such bondholders, shall be absolutely null and void in law, and shall have no force or effect whatever.

#### LAND MANAGEMENT.

26. That the Board of Directors may from time to time appoint commissioners or agents for the management and disposal of the lands of the company, with such powers and duties as shall be provided by the by-laws of the company.

27. That the company shall render to the Board of Trustees yearly accounts of all sales, leases, or other disposition of lands ; and shall from time to time pay over to the Board of Trustees the net proceeds thereof after the deduction of the cost of management and sale, such cost not to exceed the per centum of the gross proceeds.

#### POWERS OF COMPANY.

28. That the company shall from time to time cause the names of the several parties interested in the stock of the company, and the amount of interest therein of such parties respectively, to be entered in a book to be called "The Stock Register," and may in like manner cause the names and interest of the bondholders to be recorded from time to time in a book to be called "The Bond Register," and duplicates of all the registers of stock and bonds of the company, and of the holders thereof, kept at the principal office of the company in Canada, may be transmitted to and kept by the agent, for the time being, of the company in London.

29. That the company may pay to the shareholders interest on the amount of their paid-up capital, at the rate of twenty-five per centum per annum, during the construction of the railway and works.

30. That the company shall have power and authority to become parties to promissory notes and bills of exchange for sums not less than one hundred dollars, and all such promissory notes made or endorsed, and bills of exchange drawn, accepted, or endorsed by the president or vice-president of the company, under the authority of the board, shall be binding on the company ; and may also issue scrip with the like signatures, redeemable in the stock of the company, or in lands, or in both ; and in no case shall it be necessary to have the seal of the company affixed to any promissory note, bill of exchange, or scrip ; provided, however, that nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize the company to issue

any notes or bills of exchange, payable to bearer, or intended to be circulated as money, or as the notes or bills of a bank.

31. That the company may, with the approval of the Government, enter into and conclude any arrangements with any other incorporated railway company in Canada or the United States for the purpose of making any branch or branches to facilitate a connection between the railways of the company and of such other incorporated company, and they may with like approval enter into arrangements for the mutual interchange of traffic with all railway companies completing their lines to the lines of the company : and they may with like approval lease or acquire such last mentioned railway or railways, or make running arrangements therewith, and generally may with like approval enter into such arrangements as will secure uniform and complete railway connection with the system of railways now or hereafter existing in Canada or the United States.

32. That the company after the opening of the railway, or any part thereof, to the public, shall annually submit to the Parliament of Canada, within thirty days after the opening of such session thereof, a detailed and particular account, attested by the president and secretary of the company, of all moneys by them earned on the part so opened, together with the running expenses thereof, with a classified statement of the tonnage of freight, and the number of passengers conveyed over the said road, and shall comply with any other provisions which Parliament may hereafter make with regard to the form or details of such account or the mode of attesting or rendering the same.

33. That the company may, until such right is determined by Parliament, undertake the transmission of messages for the public for any line of telegraph they may construct on the line of their railway, and collect tolls for so doing : or may with the approval of the Government, lease such lines of telegraph or any portion thereof, subject to any provisions herein contained ; and if they think proper to undertake such transactions, they shall be subject to the provisions of the fourteenth and following clauses of chapter sixty-seven of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada.

#### DIRECTORS AND THEIR POWERS.

34. That the said Sir Hugh Allan, Adams George Archibald, Joseph Octave Beaubien, Jean Baptiste Beaudry, Egerton Ryerson Burpee, Frederick William Cumberland, Sandford Fleming, Robert Newton Hall, John Sebastian Helmcken, Andrew McDermot, Donald McInnes, Walter Shanly, and John Walker, a majority of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, shall be Provisional Directors of the company, and shall have power and authority to elect a president and vice-president from among their members, to appoint a secretary, treasurer and other officers, to call a general meeting of shareholders for the election of

directors, as hereinafter provided, and generally to do such other acts as shall be necessary for the conduct and management of the said undertaking, and for finally procuring the election of a Board of Directors by the shareholders.

35. That the provisional directors shall hold office until the election of their successors ; and shall call a meeting of the shareholders, to be held on such day as hereinbefore provided for, and at such place in the city of Ottawa as they shall decide, giving due notice thereof to each shareholder, at which general meeting the shareholders present, either in person or by proxy, shall elect thirteen directors, who shall constitute the board, and shall hold office until others are elected in their stead ; and if any vacancy should occur by the death, resignation, mental incapacity, insolvency, or disqualification from want of stock of any director, the vacancy shall be filled for the residue of the current year of office by the Board of Directors.

36. That the directors be thirteen in number, of whom seven shall be a quorum, and provided such quorum be present, any absent director may be represented and vote by another director as his proxy ; but no director shall hold more than one proxy. And the directors shall retire in the following order, that is to say : four at the end of the first and second years, respectively, and five at the end of the third year, and so on in similar proportions during succeeding years. The directors so to retire at the end of the first year shall be selected by ballot of the board. Those to retire at the end of the second year shall be selected by ballot among the nine directors remaining of the original board. And at the third and succeeding elections they shall retire by seniority, but the retiring directors shall be eligible for re-election ; and any director appointed by the board to fill a vacancy shall also retire at the end of the current year of office, and a director shall then be elected by the shareholders in his stead, which director shall occupy the same position with regard to retirement and seniority as the director who first vacated the seat. And on the first Wednesday in February in each year thereafter, or on such other day as may be appointed by a by-law of the company, that there shall be held at the principal office of the company, a general meeting of the shareholders, at which meeting they shall elect such a number of directors for the ensuing year as shall be required to supply the places of the directors so retiring ; and public notice of each annual meeting shall be given at least one month before the day of election. Each director shall be a subject of Her Majesty, and a holder of at least two hundred and fifty shares of the said stock. The election of directors shall be by ballot, and the president of the company and a majority of the directors shall reside in Canada.

37. That the chief place of business of the company shall be at the city



of Ottawa, but other places at which the directors or committees of the directors may meet and transact business may be fixed by the by-laws of the company.

38. That whenever it shall be deemed expedient by the Board of Directors that a special general meeting of the shareholders shall be convened for any purpose, the directors may convene such meeting at the city of Ottawa, by advertisement, in the manner herein before mentioned, in which advertisement the business to be transacted at such meeting shall be expressly mentioned.

39. That any deed required and authorized to be executed on behalf of the company shall be held to be valid and binding on the company, if it be signed by the President and Vice-President and by the Secretary, and the seal of the company be affixed thereto ; and no special authority shall be required for affixing the seal to any such deed.

40. That the directors of the company shall have power to administer, conduct and manage the affairs and business of the company, and shall have and exercise all the powers requisite to enable them to do and perform, make and execute, all such acts, matters and things, deeds and instruments as shall be necessary to carry out the provisions of this charter, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, including the power of selling, leasing, or otherwise disposing of the lands granted or to be granted in aid of the railway, and of any other lands of the company not required for the purposes of the railway, except in so far as their powers are expressly limited by the provisions hereof. And they shall also have power, from time to time, to make by-laws for the conduct, management and administration of the affairs of the company generally ; and for the remuneration of the president and directors of the company, if such remuneration be deemed advisable ; and also such by-laws as are contemplated by the provisions of this charter for the regulation of divers matters herein required or authorized to be so regulated ; and the same to amend or repeal : Provided always, however, that such by-laws shall have no force or effect, in any respect, in which they, or any of them, shall be contrary to or inconsistent with this charter, nor in any respect in which they shall require the approval of the Government, until they have received such approval. And such by-laws shall in no case have any force or effect after the next general meeting of shareholders ; which shall be held after the passage of such by-laws, by the Board of Directors, unless they are approved by such meetings ; and any copy of the by-laws of the company or any of them, purporting to be under the hand of the clerk, secretary, or other officer of the said company, and having the seal of the said corporation affixed to it, shall be received as *prima facie* evidence of such by-law in all courts of the Dominion of Canada.

41. That the directors of the company are hereby authorized and em-



powered to issue bonds which shall be a first charge on the railway and its appurtenances, and on the tolls and revenues thereof, and on all lands, whether the property of the company at the time of the issue of such bonds, or thereafter acquired, and such bonds shall be in such form, and for such amount, and with such coupons attached, and they, and the coupons attached thereto, shall be payable at such times and places as the directors from time to time shall provide. And the payment to the treasurer of the company or any other person appointed by by-law for the purpose, by any *bona fide* purchaser of any lands of the company, of the purchase money thereof, and the acquittance by such treasurer or other person so appointed, of such purchase money shall operate as a lease of the lands so paid for from the effect of such charge; and the company shall keep all moneys so received separate and apart from its ordinary funds, and shall pay over the net proceeds thereof to the Board of Trustees as hereinbefore provided. The bonds shall be signed by the president or vice-president and the secretary, but the signature of the president or the vice-president to the bonds, and the signature to the coupons, may be lithographed or engraved thereon; and such bonds shall be valid without having the seal of the company affixed thereto.

Provided that the amount of such bonds shall not exceed forty thousand dollars per mile, to be issued in proportion to the length of railway to be constructed under and by virtue of this charter, unless the issue of bonds to a large amount be authorized by the Government. And all bonds issued under this charter shall have the same and equal rank and priority, as a first charge on the assets of the company hereinbefore described.

42. That if at any time any agreement be made by the company with any persons intending to become bondholders of the company, restricting the issue of bonds by the company, under the power conferred by the preceding section, or defining or limiting the mode of exercising such powers; the company thereafter shall not act upon such powers otherwise than as defined, restricted and limited by such agreement. And no bond thereafter issued by the company and no order, resolution or proceeding thereafter made, passed or had by the company, or by the Board of Directors, contrary to the terms of such agreement, shall be valid or effectual.

43. That the directors of the company may by by-law, appoint one agent or agents in the City of London, England, and may by such by-law make provisions for the payment of dividends, and for the transfer of the stock and bonds of the company, at the said City of London, in such manner, and upon such terms and conditions as shall be provided by such by-law. Provided that all such by-laws for the transfer of stock, passed within six years after the date of this charter, shall be subject to the approval of the Government.

## MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

44. That for the purposes of making an allotment of the land and money subsidies, the railway shall be divided into convenient sections ; and so soon as sufficient information has been obtained respecting the difficulty and cost of construction of such sections, the proportion of land and money subsidies applicable to each of them, shall be determined by agreement between the Government and the company ; and if the Government and the company are unable to agree upon such proportion, the same shall be decided upon by three engineers, selected as hereinbefore mentioned.

45. That "The Railway Act of 1868," as modified by an Act of Parliament of Canada, of the session held in the year 1872, with reference to any railway to be constructed under any such act on any of the lines, or between any of the points mentioned in the act in this charter first recited in so far as the provisions of the same are applicable to the undertaking authorized by this charter, and in so far as they are not inconsistent with or contrary to the provisions thereof, are hereby incorporated therewith.

46. And as respects the said railway, that the eighth section of "*The Railway Act, 1868*," relating to *Plans and surveys*, shall be subject to the following provisions :—

It shall be sufficient that the map or plan and book of reference for any portion of the line of the railway, not being within any district or country for which there is a Clerk of the Peace, be deposited in the office of the Minister of Public Works of Canada, and any omission, mis-statement, or erroneous description of any lands therein, may be corrected by the company, with the consent of the Minister and certified by him ; and the company may then make the railway in accordance with such certified correction.

The eleventh sub-section of the said eighth section of the *Railway Act* shall not apply to any portion of the railway passing over ungranted lands of the Crown, or lands not within any surveyed township in any Province ; and in such places, deviations not exceeding five miles from the line shown on the map or plan, approved by the Government and deposited by the company, shall be allowed on the approval of the Government Inspector, without any formal connection or certificate ; and any further deviation that may be found expedient, may be authorized by order of the Government, and the company may then make their railway in accordance with such authorized deviation.

The map or plan and book of reference may be deposited in accordance with this section, after the approval by the Government shall avail,

as if made and deposited as required by the said "Railway Act, 1868," for all the purposes of the said Act and of this charter ; and any copy of or extract therefrom, certified by the said minister or his deputy, shall be received as evidence in any Court of law in Canada.

It shall be sufficient that a map or profile of any part of the completed railway which shall not lie within any country or district having a registry office, be filed in the office of the Minister of Public Works.

The company shall not commence the construction of any bridge over any navigable water, until they shall have submitted to the Government plans of such bridge, and of all the intended works thereto appertaining, nor until such plans and the site of such bridge shall have been approved by the Government ; and such conditions as it shall think fit to impose touching such bridge shall be complied with, nor shall any plan of any such bridge be altered, or deviation therefrom allowed, except by permission of the Government.

47. That the provisions made in sub-sections thirty, thirty-one and thirty-two of section nine of "The Railway Act, 1868," as to incumbrances on lands acquired by the company, shall apply to lands acquired by the company in the Provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia, and in the North-West Territories ; and as respects lands in the North-West Territories, the Court of Queen's Bench for the Province of Manitoba shall be held to be the Court intended by the said sub-sections.

48. That in the Provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia, any Judge of a Superior or County Court shall have all the powers given by the said Act to a County Judge, and in the North-West Territories such powers shall be exercised by a Judge of the Queen's Bench of the Province of Manitoba.

49. That it shall be lawful for the company to take from any public lands, adjacent to or near the line of the said railway, all stone, timber, gravel, and other materials which may be necessary or useful for the construction of the railway ; and also to lay out and appropriate to the use of the company a greater extent of lands, whether public or private, for stations, depots, workshops, buildings, side tracks, wharves, harbors and roadways, and for establishing screens against snow, than the breadth and quality mentioned in "The Railway Act, 1868," such greater extent taken, in any case, being allowed by the Government, and shown on the maps or plans deposited with the Minister of Public Works.

50. And whereas it may be necessary for the company to possess gravel pits and quarries, and lands containing deposits of gravel, stone, brick-clay, iron or coal, as well as lands for stations and other purposes, at convenient places along the line of railway, for constructing and keeping in repair, and for carrying on the business of the railway, and as such gravel pits, quarries or deposits cannot at all times be procured without buying

the whole lot of land whereon such deposit may be found ; therefore, that the said company may purchase, have, hold, take, receive use and enjoy, along the line of the said railway, or separated therefrom, and if separated therefrom, then with the necessary right of way thereto any lands, tenements and hereditaments which it shall please Her Majesty, or any person or persons, or bodies politic, to give, grant, sell or convey unto, and to use of, or in trust for the said company, their successors and assigns ; and it shall and may be lawful for the said company to establish stations or workshops on any of such lots or blocks of land, and from time to time, by deed of bargain and sale, or otherwise, to grant, bargain, sell or convey any portions of such lands not necessary to be retained for gravel pits, quarries, sidings, branches, fuel yards, station grounds, or workshops, or for effectually repairing, maintaining, and using to the greatest advantage the said railway and other works connected therewith.

51. That, as respects places not within any province, any notice required by “The Railway Act, 1868,” to be given in the “Official Gazette” of a province, may be given in the *Canada Gazette*.

52. That deeds and conveyances of lands to the company for the purposes of this charter (not being letters patent from the Crown), may in so far as the circumstances will admit, lie in the form following, that is to say :—

Know all men by these presents, that I, A. B., in consideration of —, paid to me by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said Canadian Pacific Railway Company, their successors and assigns, all the tract or parcel of land (*describe the land*), to have and to hold the said land and premises, unto the said Company, their successors and assigns forever.

“Witness my hand and seal, this            day of            one thousand eight hundred and            .

“Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of

“A. B.” [LS.]

“C. D.”

“E. F.”

Or in any other form to the like effect.

53. That Her Majesty’s naval and military forces, whether Imperial or Canadian Regular or Militia, and all artillery, ammunition, baggage, provisions or other stores for their use, and all officers and others travelling on Her Majesty’s naval or military or other service, and their baggage and stores, shall at all times, when the company shall be thereunto required by one of Her Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State, or by the Commander of Her Majesty’s forces in Canada, or by the Minister of Militia



and Defence of Canada, or by the chief Naval officer of the North American Station on the Atlantic, or on the Pacific Ocean, be carried on the said railway on such terms and conditions; and under such regulations as the Government shall from time to time make.

54. That the Justices of the Peace for any country or district in British Columbia and Manitoba, assembled in general or quarter sessions, shall have the power vested by section forty-nine, "The Railway Act 1868," in the justices so assembled in the Province of Ontario as to the appointment of railway constables, and in places where there are no such sessions, any two Justices of the Peace in any Province, or in any place not within a Province, shall have the powers given by the said section to any two Justices of the Peace in Ontario for the appointment and dismissal of any such constables; and where there is no Clerk of the Peace the record of the appointment of a constable shall be dispensed with.

55. That it shall be lawful for the Government, by order to be published in the *Canada Gazette*, on or before the first day of May, 1874, to declare this charter, and the several points thereof, and all points and agreements made thereunder between the Government and the company to be null and void, if the company have not by the first day of January last preceding that date, made arrangements to the satisfaction of the Government for raising the money required for the construction and working of the said railway.

56. That the expression "The Governor," and "The Governor-in-Council," in this charter, mean the Governor-General-in-Council; and the expression "railway" includes as well the branches as the main line of the Pacific Railway, except when the contrary appears from the context.

And we do, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, grant and declare that these our letters patent, or the enrolment thereof, shall be in and by all things valid and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, and shall be recognized as valid and effectual by all our courts and judges, and all officers, persons, and bodies, politic or corporate, whom it doth, or shall or may concern.

In testimony whereof, we have caused these Our Letters to be made patent, and the Great Seal of Canada to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS our right trusty and well beloved Cousin and Councillor, the Right Honorable SIR FREDRIC TEMPLE, EARL OF DUFFERIN, Viscount and Baron Clandeboye, of Clandeboye, in the County Down, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, Baron Dufferin and Clandeboye, of Ballyleidy and Killelaugh in the County Down, in the Peerage of Ireland, and a Baronet, Knight of our most illustrious Order of Saint Patrick, and Knight-Commander of our most honorable Order of the Bath, Governor-General of Canada, and Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Prince



Edward, and Vice-Admiral of Canada and Prince Edward. AT OUR GOVERNMENT HOUSE in our CITY OF OTTAWA, in our Dominion, this fifth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, and in the thirty-sixth year of our reign.

BY COMMAND,

J. C. AIKINS,  
*Secretary of State.*

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